

Marcell Restle

BYZANTINE
WALL PAINTING
IN ASIA MINOR

TEXT I



VERLAG AUREL BONGERS RECKLINGHAUSEN

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY IRENE R. GIBBONS



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Appendix: Classification of Subjects / List of Illustrations

FOREWORD

On being told that the results of ten years of research into Byzantine wall painting in Asia Minor are being presented here, the reader will expect to get a complete picture of the subject. This is only partly true. All the wall paintings that have a bearing on the history of art have indeed been included, but they have not been dealt with fully from every point of view. Problems relating to iconography and to the history of the various subjects depicted have been omitted throughout. Also, except in a few special cases, ornament has been left out. A typological study of ornament is no longer of interest to-day. The stylistic history of ornament, on the other hand, is a complex subject and means going right back to the beginning, so it cannot be covered within the scope of a single chapter. Research into the formal history of inscriptions and individual letters of the alphabet has got under way very slowly and the author intends to deal with this in another book within a wider framework.

In our study of Byzantine wall painting in Asia Minor we have concentrated on two main points, i. e., on making a technical inventory of the paintings and fitting them into the historical framework from the point of view of style. These are the very points that have so far been ignored in the literature, not completely perhaps, but certainly to a considerable extent.

The Catalogue is intended to fulfil the first requirement. It includes all the available material, especially material that can still be checked (apart from the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, which, following its restoration, has been the subject of a detailed monograph by David Talbot Rice). Paintings known to us entirely or almost entirely from the literature have been omitted (for example, the fresco fragments from the church on the Theatre Terrace at Pergamon). Such monuments can occasionally be used in iconographical studies, but certainly not in a history of art. Except for three or four, all the paintings given in the Catalogue have been examined by the author on several occasions in the course of ten years' work. These exceptions have been indicated in the Catalogue as being second hand or based on illustrations.

The Catalogue does not actually contain a description of the cycles. These have been covered as completely as possible in the iconographical lists and lay-out diagrams. So the reader is obliged to keep the pull-out lists with the lay-out diagrams beside him all the time. This has both advantages and disadvantages. Anyone wanting to obtain an overall view of the subject and make comparisons will welcome this method. But the reader who is looking out for iconographical details will consult the plates and will then have to go back for his text to the material published by Jerphanion. Thanks to this method it has, however, been possible to prune the Catalogue considerably and make it into a clear and manageable whole. The inscriptions too are referred to briefly and only if they provide relevant information about donors and dates.

Special emphasis has, however, been laid on peculiarities of painting technique, the characteristics of the various plaster layers, differences in the choice of colours, binding media and, above all, the structure of the individual painting layers, which varies from work to work. In the course of all this I realised that I was venturing into a very important field of study. It is here that we find most of the arguments enabling us to make chronological divisions between the various paintings and differentiate between the individual painters working on a single cycle. General points referring to these questions of technique have been presented in a separate chapter which should be read before the Catalogue, as the rather abbreviated terminology used in the Catalogue is based on this.

The Catalogue has been kept concise. A rapid digest of information was required, so a brief presentation under short headings seemed preferable to a more diffuse treatment. I hope the reader will excuse this. It will, in fact, be all the easier for him to consult, as it will probably never be used as a piece of continuous reading matter, but merely for reference and information.

The real subject of study — and this is the second aim of the work — is analysis of style from a historical point of view and classification of the paintings. This brings in the dating problem. The decisive factors involved have been the technical peculiarities mentioned in the Catalogue. Physical and chemical analyses of a whole series of plaster and paint samples have supplied powerful arguments. What emerges clearly from all this is that technical peculiarities of the various painters are nearly always synonymous with peculiarities of style. Comparison with other forms of Byzantine painting, especially book illumination, has usually been helpful. Many of the comparisons quoted here are certainly not random ones, but they are incomplete. An attempt has always been made to pick out the most characteristic ones. I could not hope to cover the subject fully. This is still an impossibility. We all know the position as far as research into Byzantine book illumination is concerned. Many items lie dormant in libraries, unpublicised and difficult to lay our hands on. There also seemed to be little point in comparing material in cases where no published illustrations were available. As time goes on, a great deal of extra work will have to be done in this field.

The author has tried to keep the textual matter within bounds. He hopes the reader will feel that his views are clearly expressed and well founded. The text is as brief as possible so that special emphasis can be given to the illustrations.

The two volumes of pictures are intended to give as complete a pictorial record as possible. Previous knowledge on the subject has been extended in several directions. What Jerphanion was only able to reproduce in the form of line drawings or water-colour copies, if at all, can now be tackled more efficiently by modern methods of photography and reproduction. Wide-angle photographs, in which we have to put up with a certain amount of distortion, show new aspects of the architecture and, above all, give an overall picture of the individual cycles and their spatial distribution. This will be a most welcome addition to the lay-out diagrams. There are also close-up photographs

emphasising the characteristic features of the individual cycles and the painters concerned. Careful examination will show that completely new aspects and qualities of the paintings have been brought out in this way.

Most of the colour reproductions are aimed at the same effect. For different reasons, but always with the same end in view, the publisher and author decided to use a large number of expensive colour plates. Even a colour print that is not perfect in every respect can bring out more of the original nuances than a black and white print. In a number of instances we could not help noticing how completely different colours with the same chromatic value were reproduced in exactly the same shade of grey and could not be distinguished from one another in a black and white print. Bearing this in mind, we made a point of printing at least one coloured picture of each work. The highest possible standard has been reached. The blocks were often made from photographs on different colour films, taken at different seasons or in different years. No effort was spared in the printing department. The colour plates were made and remade and my own corrections and a number of original coloured fragments were used to improve them. The only thing that was financially out of the question was another journey back to see the originals and make final amendments to the colouring right on the spot.

Seldom has a publisher embarked with such daring and enthusiasm on a literary venture so devoid of popular appeal as has Aurel Bongers, whom I would like to thank here first of all.

A lecture on scenery and towns in Greece and Anatolia in the Middle Ages by Professor Hans-Georg Beck first gave me the urge to tackle this unsolved problem. A grant from the German Academic Exchange Service in 1956/57 enabled me to start working out there on the spot. Both presidents of the German Archaeological Institute, Professor Erich Boehringer and Professor Kurt Bittel, showed a lively interest in the work and helped to bring it to the notice of the German Research Association. A travelling scholarship from that body took the research a considerable step forward in 1959. In the following years, 1961 and 1962, I was able to carry out further studies on the spot, partly at my own expense and partly with the travelling scholarship from the German Archaeological Institute. In 1965 I went on a final study trip, made possible by a travel grant from the Volkswagen Works Foundation, which was approached by Professor Luitpold Dussler through the Rector of the Technical University in Munich. Thanks to the intervention of the German Endowment Association for the Advancement of Knowledge with a grant from Messrs. C. H. Boehringer Sohn in Ingelheim, Dyckerhoff Zementwerke AG in Wiesbaden and Freudenberg in Weinheim new photographs could be taken of the wall paintings and the most important ground plans were remeasured. This vast work has been printed with the assistance of the Volkswagen Works Foundation. I wish to take this opportunity of thanking all benefactors, both private individuals and official bodies. With disinterested enthusiasm they have promoted an artistic work that can hardly hope to awaken widespread interest.

My teacher and friend Kurt Erdmann, who is unfortunately no longer with us, gave me much encouragement. Since 1958 Klaus Wessel has supplied me with a great deal of good advice and he also helped to read the proofs. Professors Otto Demus and Johannes Kollwitz demolished a number of over-hasty theories devised by me and helped to construct a secure foundation for many of my results. Professors Luitpold Dussler and Josef-Adolf Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth gave their assistant the opportunity to carry on and complete his work.

I would also like to thank Jeannine Le Brun for her keen and willing acceptance of a thankless task that can never be adequately repaid. She retook all the photographs in 1965 regardless of heat and sand and all the other discomforts. Karl-Friedrich Krösser measured out the new ground plans most painstakingly. He was helped in this by his measuring assistant Irmgard Kübler. Rüdiger Bergold deserves a special mention. He had the thankless task of amending and redrawing old ground plans with the help of new photographs. He also designed and drew all the lay-out diagrams with great enthusiasm and understanding.

I was guided in technical matters by Walter Hammer. It is thanks to him and through him that the first analyses of painting techniques were undertaken by Dr. Denninger of the Institute of Painting Methods at the Stuttgart Academy. Dr. Müller-Skjold flung himself with his accustomed keenness into further analytical work. Without him the technical chapter would have been a very skimpy affair. I would also like to thank my friend Ernst Adam. He has given me great encouragement in the past few years and took an active part in the revision work. The debt I owe to my wife cannot be measured.

I hope this work will provide a solid foundation for subsequent research and encourage others to follow in my footsteps.

Munich and Vienna, May 1967.

Marcell Restle

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THE BEGINNINGS

When discussing the earliest paintings in Cappadocia, we tend to concentrate to-day on the possibility that at least some of the ornamental paintings do not really date back to the iconoclastic period — of course, certain extremely early "pre-scientific" datings, based generally on Texier or the early monastic history of the country, can be ignored. Gabriel Millet was one of the first to support the iconoclastic idea¹. Jerphanion also held the same view, especially with regard to the paintings in Chapel 3 in Göreme, the Chapel of St. Basil at Elevation², that of St. Stephen in the Archangel Monastery near Cemil and the painting at Karş Bıçak near Maçan³. There is also Chapel 5 in Güllü dere. In very recent times N. and M. Thierry stated that the parecclesion in the Chapel of Joachim and Anne at Kızıl Çukur was iconoclastic⁴. Finally, M. Gough dated the ornamental paintings in the Chapel of Al Oda to the period of the Iconoclast Controversy. From comparison with Ravenna stucco and Syrian ornaments F. W. Deichmann⁵ even thought that they might have been created about the 6th century.

Discussion on this problem can hardly be termed lively or vigorous. That is because, even now, too little research is being done on the whole pattern of evolution in ornamental art and, unfortunately, our knowledge of the period in question is particularly poor. Conclusions based on post-iconoclastic development are, of course, problematical⁶. So even people who are against dating these paintings to the period of the Iconoclast Controversy can only offer rather unreliable arguments. Grabar⁷ stressed the point that decoration with aniconic crosses and ornaments was customary from the 5th century⁸. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne confined herself to putting the word "iconoclastic" in inverted commas.

The arguments of Jerphanion¹⁰ have to be verified. They are of a dual nature. He suggested that there was a general connection between the non-representational paintings, confined merely to crosses and floral and ornamental decoration, and the hostility of the iconoclasts towards images. We could counter this by saying that aniconic and purely ornamental decorations in red (and sometimes in red and green), including many crosses, are to be seen in every other church. They just cannot be dated to the period of the Iconoclast Controversy in the case of some churches, e. g., the Tokalı Kilise, because of the sequence of different layers. In others the type of architecture makes an early dating, i. e., to the iconoclastic period, impossible (e. g., the Elmalı Kilise). But this could in turn be countered by the argument that the work suggested as being iconoclastic includes not only paintings put straight on to the rock, but others that have been applied to a proper fresco plaster. These differ, moreover, from the first decoration painted straight on to the rock because of the floral motifs used in them (vine scrolls, etc.). But this argument is concerned with the history of ornament. The fundamental thing that we should bear in mind here is that aniconic decorations with a liberal sprinkling of crosses

were a possibility from the 5th century onwards and were a common feature for many centuries after the Iconoclast Controversy, so they were certainly not confined merely to the period of that controversy.

In the case of Chapel 3 in Göreme and the Chapel of St. Stephen in the Archangel Monastery near Cemil, Jerphanion tried to prove that the figural parts of the painting were either added later (the pictures of the Forty Martyrs in Chapel 3) or were replaced by an ornamental decoration (St. Stephen's Chapel), after which part of the ornamental work was in turn painted over with figures. After careful examination of the various layers in both monuments we have arrived at new results, quite different from those of Jerphanion¹¹.

In Chapel 3 in Göreme both the cross and ornamental decoration and the frieze of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste were painted together on the same plaster and in the same colours.

In the Chapel of St. Stephen near Cemil, the Communion of the Apostles on the south wall is on the same plaster layer as the cross and vine scrolls painted on the ceiling and so must almost certainly be contemporaneous. The grey layer regarded by Jerphanion as having been painted over the initial figural layer during the last phase of the Iconoclast Controversy does not come between layers I and II, but over II, so that argument does not carry any weight either.

We still have to consider the second point which caused Jerphanion to date the Chapel of St. Stephen to the period of the second iconoclastic crisis at the beginning of the 9th century, i. e., the cross of Saint Euphemia with the bust of a female figure with a nimbus and Inscription: I CTAVPOC THC ATHAC EΦEMHAC on the north wall of the chapel. This picture is explained in the story told by Asterius of Amasia¹² concerning the cross which appeared to Euphemia, a favourite saint of the iconodules. Her relics were lost during the Iconoclast Controversy under Constantine V. Copronymus, the "Dirty One", as he has been nicknamed in history, is supposed to have ordered the precious casket responsible for the favourable outcome of the Council of Chalcedon to be flung into the sea and to have converted the church beside the Hippodrome into a storehouse¹³. The relics were carried miraculously to the shores of the island of Lemnos and were ceremoniously restored by Irene in 795/96 to their original resting-place, the Hippodrome Church in Constantinople¹⁴. From the mention made of it at the Seventh Council¹⁵, the story of the vision appears to have had a certain influence. But all this cannot blind us to the fact that it merely provides us with a terminus post quem for the paintings and does not necessarily imply a date shortly afterwards. Such things might have continued to have an effect for a long time in monastic circles. *Ceterum censeo* . . .

M. Gough is fairer in his dating of the ornamental paintings at Al Oda¹⁶. He attributes them to Islamic and iconoclastic streams within the period from the 8th to the 9th century, but does not absolutely insist on putting them at the time of the Iconoclast Controversy.

The only guide to dating that now remains is the ornamentation. We have already said how such clues — and that is all they are in this instance — are to be assessed. The period when the various individual motifs were in use is to a large extent unknown.

The entwining and intertwining circle pattern¹⁷, which appears at Al Oda, forms an important part of the decoration in the vestibule of the Tokalı Kilise and Chapel 9 — to mention only the most familiar examples. Even the fine hatching technique used for the internal drawing can be seen there. The intertwined band from the floor mosaic border appears in Chapel 3, the Church of St. Theodore at Susum Bayrı near Ürgüp and also Chapel 3 in Güllüdere and in a related form in the linear decoration of Tokalı III¹⁸. The zigzag band at Al Oda¹⁹ is also to be found in the Elmalı Kilise and was indeed a characteristic feature of its period. These examples — and more could be added — give an adequate picture of the problem. Motifs are handed down. Occasionally one of them is a special favourite and becomes, so to speak, the "characteristic fossil", but this only happens now and then. The attempt made by Swoboda²⁰, basing himself on Weitzmann²¹, to date the material from its ornamental characteristics rather than from the actual motifs marks a step forward.

If we are looking for stylistic parallels for the doughy fatness of the squashed vine scroll at the edge of the western ceiling area in the Chapel of St. Stephen at the Archangel Monastery, we shall find them in manuscripts like the Dionysiu 1²², 2²³ and 21²⁴, the Patnensis 70²⁵, the Codex graecus 1476 in the National Library in Paris²⁶ and the Harley Codex 5787 in the British Museum in London²⁷. The pointed, untidy and sometimes narrow and elongated drawing seen in the festoons of grapes round the cross on the front part of the ceiling in the Chapel of St. Stephen appears to be related to Codex 211 in the National Library in Athens²⁸. All these clues actually take us to the beginning of the 10th century²⁹. Coche de la Ferté³⁰, who compared the rosette on the ceiling of Kızıl Çukur with a ceramic exhibit in the Louvre, even gave a cautiously wide margin for the latter and dated it to the 10th/11th century.

We have now come to the end of the arguments possible at present. They have shown that we have very good grounds for not adhering to the dating handed down to us by Millet and Jerphanion. The paintings in Chapel 3 in Göreme, the Chapel of St. Stephen in the Archangel Monastery near Cemil and the Hagios Basilios at Eleyra were ascribed by them to the period of the Iconoclast Controversy or, to be more exact, its final phase — at the beginning of the 9th century. The characteristic ornamental features, including the usually plump and fleshy drawing, and the workmanship would rather suggest the period round 900 and the beginning of the 10th century.

THE EARLY MACEDONIAN FESCOES

It is surprising to find that the Church of St. Theodore at Susum Bayrı near Ürgüp is generally referred to to-day, as by Jerphanion³¹, Budde³² and Swoboda³³, as the oldest

figural wall painting in Cappadocia. Jerphanion was the only one to put forward arguments worthy of discussion. He stated that the inscription under the base of Christ's throne in the apse: ΜΥΚΡΟC Ο ΤΥΠΙΟC ΜΕΓΑC Ο ΦΟΒ[ΟC]Ο.. Ν Τ[Ο]Ν ΤΥΠΙΟΝ ΘΗΜΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΠΙΟΝ³⁴ was a kind of slogan of the iconodules and so could not have been put up long after the Iconoclast Controversy. The idea of an early date was, moreover, supported, he said, by iconographical peculiarities revealing a Syrian influence (thieves in the Crucifixion scene). Swoboda compared the paintings with the Patmensis 171³⁵, which has itself been a subject of controversy as far as the material, the general uniformity and the dating are concerned. The pronounced megalopodic style used in the Church of St. Theodore, which hits the visitor in the eye, has, I feel, quite different origins. We shall come back to this later.

One particular cycle of paintings has been omitted from the most recent literature³⁶ although it deserves detailed consideration. I refer to work in the Kılıçlar Kilise in a side-valley of Göreme (Chapel 29 in Göreme). Jerphanion, misled by the architecture (cross-domed church) and the tone used in the restorations (cf. Catalogue), which approaches the colour scale of the Karanlık Kilise (Chapel 23 in Göreme), placed this cycle at the end of his Archaic Group, i. e., at the end of the 10th century. This is incomprehensible to us, realising, as we do, the special interest that Gabriel Millet had in these paintings³⁷. D. T. Rice must have been thinking of them when he suggested that Cappadocian monks had been responsible for the strip pictures in the Gregory manuscript in Paris³⁸.

In both cases we are struck by the meagre statuary and the painstakingly serious, naive and yet not over-voluble manner of narration. The mixture of surprise and eagerness shown by the shepherds in the Nativity scene in the Kılıçlar Kilise is just as evident in the Apostles accompanying Jesus in the Gregory manuscript in Paris. The figure of Christ the miracle-worker dominates the whole, not by its size or unusual gestures, but by a sense of inner power, and is equally fascinating in both. Seldom has God incarnate been portrayed in such a way, as all-powerful and at the same time a normal earthly being.

Apart from these more obvious things that the paintings appear to have in common, there are others of a more formal nature. Architectural settings are used in a similar way. In the internal drawing the same method of dividing up dark draperies with even darker lines and bright ones by the use of a great deal of light and only a little shadow can be observed in both. The proportions, posture, gestures and general balance of the figures are identical. In both sets of framed picture strips we can be equally sure of finding that even the foreground is well filled. The figures are fitted firmly into place, shoulder to shoulder, but without jostling one another uncomfortably or edging one another out.

There are differences too. In the Paris Gregory the internal drawing is more broken up into separate compartments. Here a thigh is divided up into two or three single light figures, confronted triangles and so on. The internal drawing is, on the whole, made up of smaller parts. It is more broken up and almost erratic and sometimes tense and violent.

The himation, peeping out below the upper garment, reveals even narrower longitudinal pleats. This seems reminiscent of the exaggerated linearism of the middle of the 7th century, whereas the manner of representation and the figural style as a whole can be traced back to the strip pictures of the Codex Rossanensis and the Fragmentum Sinopense, also the Vienna Genesis. The tense vigour occasionally seen in the drawing leads to the portrayal of light and shade by means of narrow lines of fine hatching and sometimes herring-bone shapes. Coming in between the larger light shapes are double zigzag strokes, like forked lightning. This excessive use of internal drawing occasionally obscures the natural form of the figures in the Gregory manuscript, even although the outline is correct.

The painter of the Kılıçlar Kilise is different in that respect. The internal drawing here is bolder and more relaxed throughout. Just compare the thighs of the figures in the Metamorphosis picture of the Parisinus graecus 510, broken up into small geometrical compartments, with the thigh of the seated Joseph from the Nativity scene in the Kılıçlar Kilise which is quietly formed in a single operation. There is a single light, hard and well defined and broadly adapted to the natural shape of the thigh, and this light runs out at both ends into two curved strokes. This and the shadow line set alongside it and deepened by the outline convey the distended heaviness of the human body. Even where there is fine hatching, in the cloak which is pulled round Joseph's upper arm towards his chest, it has been done in such a quiet, broad and restrained way and is so skilfully offset by the parts with the larger divisions that a definite balance is achieved. The welter of folds that is so often to be seen in the Parisinus graecus 510 never occurs in the paintings of the Kılıçlar Kilise. Here an attempt is always made as far as possible to fit everything into a single large sweep. This accounts for the wide use of fan-shaped pleating, for example, in the seated Apostles in the Pentecost Feast and the Angel at the Tomb and also in standing figures, such as the Angels in the Baptism scene.

These close connections with the Paris Gregory and, it is almost true to say, with an older stage of stylistic development going in the same direction raise a number of important problems. There is a fleeting reference to them by Jerphanion³⁹ and they no doubt led Rice to suppose that the strip pictures of the Parisinus graecus 510 might have been produced by Cappadocian monks⁴⁰. But I feel that we are over-simplifying the situation. We must bear in mind that the Gregory manuscript in Paris was written and illuminated for the Emperor Basil I (867—886), probably between 880 and 886, the year of Basil I's death, as Constantine, who died in 879, is not shown in the dedicatory picture. It is generally acknowledged that it was produced in the capital city. The date of any wall paintings existing in Cappadocia before this is doubtful. This has been shown in the first section, where we dealt with the early phase. Above all, they cannot be linked with the magnificent Gregory manuscript because of their provincial ornamentation. Moreover, the Kılıçlar Kilise, which is not only the first, but the only church so close in style to the Gregory codex, has been dated to the end of the 10th century at the earliest⁴¹. Swoboda

actually moved it into the 12th century⁴². But we shall have to be more or less definite about the dating of the Kılıçlar Kilise before we can come any nearer to solving the problem raised by Rice. The link with the Paris Gregory is the vital point.

Above all, we must decide whether the greater breaking up of folds and of light and shade to be observed in the Paris manuscript, the division into individual compartments and the smaller, jagged and almost tense elements in the internal drawing come before the Kılıçlar Kilise or after it. There are two points to consider when answering this question. In quite a number of other "archaic" paintings, for example, in Chapels 6, 9 and 4a in Göreme and at El Nazar, we notice this tendency towards linearism and to divide into compartments and break up the internal drawing into smaller and smaller motifs and fragments of motifs. If the process of development had gone in the opposite direction, i. e., if the staccato shapes divided up into small parts had been consolidated into large units in the quiet style of the Kılıçlar Kilise, they would all have to be dated to the period before Kılıçlar. This would be difficult to understand for two reasons. The first one is the close relation between Kılıçlar and the Parisinus graecus 510, which, bearing in mind all the rules of art, prevents us from moving Kılıçlar too far away from that manuscript. The second reason is that the metropolitan Cosmas Indicopleustes, which probably just preceded the Paris Gregory and is kept in the Vatican Library⁴³, also contains shapes that are firmer and more restful and rather less disjointed than those in the Gregory codex. Moreover, later Cappadocian paintings which have been dated, such as those at Çavuşin (between 963 and 969) and in the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlıdere (1006 or 1021), clearly show that the process of development was towards more impatient and jerky internal shapes. We have no choice but to regard the paintings in the Kılıçlar Kilise as being stylistically older than the ones in the Paris Gregory. But this certainly does not mean to say that they were produced before 880. Certain facts indeed prevent us from coming to that conclusion. The type of architecture in the Kılıçlar Kilise, a cross-domed church with four column supports, can be seen first of all in the capital city in the North Church of the Lips Monastery and the Church of the Myrelaion Monastery, the Bodrum Camii, which, according to most chroniclers, were built under Leo VI (907) and Romanos I Lacapenus (920—944), respectively⁴⁴. But we must not strain this argument too far. There are gaps in the line of monuments handed down to us and these two churches need not necessarily be considered as the first buildings of that type. Between them and earlier buildings, such as the Kalender and the Gül Camii, we find a fairly large gap in the line of evolution⁴⁵.

We must, moreover, allow for the fact that development lags behind in the provinces and certain stylistic tendencies long since abandoned in the capital may continue to have an influence over a long period in more remote areas. This appears to be the case in a manuscript from the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, the Codex graecus 538, which was produced in 905 under Leo VI and his brother Alexander and was rightly ascribed by Weitzmann⁴⁶ to a workshop functioning in the interior of Asia Minor. The painting in

it is harder and more forceful, but also cruder than that in the Kılıçlar Kilise, but it definitely comes within that general framework and uses some of its drawing motifs, e. g., the fan-shaped lap folds of the Apostles from the Pentecost Feast are transferred to the three seated friends of Job⁴⁷. In important details, however, it reveals a hardness⁴⁸ that we do not find in our own material until we come to Karağedik and the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilisesi in the Peristrema valley. Nor is it equal in quality to the Kılıçlar Kilise. So its date, 905, can only be regarded as a terminus post quem non. This casts doubt not only on Swoboda's late dating of the Kılıçlar Kilise to the beginning of the 12th century, but on Jerphanion's placing of it at the end of the 10th century. The period is narrowed down to the ten years before and after 900. For a more precise estimate of the date we must, for the time being, rely entirely on the artistic and stylistic relations existing between the Kılıçlar Kilise and the Paris Gregory.

Although the Kılıçlar frescoes do represent an earlier stylistic stage than the Gregory manuscript, one can hardly believe that Cappadocian painting began with a masterpiece like this and then passed on to the capital and so into the Gregory manuscript. That would be Rice's view. But such a theory is impossible because of the Cosmas manuscript in the Vatican. However, we can venture the suggestion — and it is quite a sensible one — that the Kılıçlar Kilise was created by a master who took as his model a prototype prior to the strip pictures of the Paris Gregory, dating from about 850/70. The idea that this prototype originated in turn in "monastic" circles in or around the capital where artists had worked from the old Sinopense and Rossanensis models requires careful checking. Coming in between we have the paintings in the Pantocrator Psalter 61⁴⁹ and No. 129 in the Historical Museum in Moscow (Khludoff Psalter)⁵⁰. These psalters with marginal illustrations were originally ascribed by Weitzmann to monastic circles in eastern Anatolia⁵¹. Malickij⁵² and Grabar⁵³ after him thought that they had been created in the capital in Patriarchate circles. A. Frolov⁵⁴, on the other hand, tried to prove on feeble grounds that the Pantocrator Psalter was produced by artists in the immediate circle of the exiled Patriarch Nicephorus I in one of the monasteries situated on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus. The fold style in the Pantocrator 61 with its spacious, bold and economical linework (to be seen, for example, in the enthroned figure of David — Illust. 356 of Weitzmann) is very closely related to the work in the Kılıçlar Kilise. The heads are quite different. They are painted Impressionistically, almost giving a spotted effect. Their forceful expression reveals a direct link with the Purple Evangelists of Rossano and Sinope. There does not seem to be any imitation of this in the paintings of the Kılıçlar Kilise or of the harshly realistic gestures of the figures. Here the Kılıçlar Kilise has apparently made use of a different line of tradition, less easy for us to lay hold of, going back originally to, e. g., the Justinian fresco in the Basilica of St. Demetrius in Salonika from the years around 688⁵⁵. We find it again in a cruder form in the medallions of the Saints in a John Damascenus manuscript from Paris⁵⁶, which Weitzmann considers to be the work of a painter at the Mar Saba Monastery in Palestine in the middle of the

9th century. The painting in the Kılıçlar Kilise is very closely related to the background from which these manuscripts came. The painting, like the architecture, was almost certainly imported from the capital and may date from the years around 900.

There are, of course, arguments against such an early dating. People will inevitably point out that this rich and fully developed cycle is of a standard unequalled and unprecedented up to that time. As we are dealing with the painting style here, we cannot go into this question. Owing to the difficult position with regard to relics and sources it would fill a whole chapter on its own, so I prefer to set it aside for iconographical investigation. The same applies to another objection, referring to the Communion of the Apostles in the left apse. The first reliably dated example of this subject, from the year 1028, can be seen in the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Salonika. It is generally thought that the Communion of the Apostles did not occupy its characteristic place in the main apse till the 11th century (cf. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκίων* in Thessaloniki, *Byzantina Vindobonensia* II, Graz-Cologne 1966, 30 to 33). Seres, Kiev and Ochrid are further examples from the 11th century. This particular subject goes back to an old tradition (cf. K. Wessel, *Apostelkommunion*, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* I, 242—244; idem, *Abendmahl und Apostelkommunion*, *Iconographia ecclesiae orientalis*, Recklinghausen 1964) and one of the two iconographical types is actually derived from its presentation on monuments (cf. Wessel, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* I, 241). At Kılıçlar the picture is in the left side apse. In Tokalı IV, from the second half of the 10th century, the Communion of Maria Aegyptiaca is in the same place. Owing to the great gaps in the relics handed down to us we should beware of argumenta ex silentio. We cannot find any compelling reason in all this why we should not date the Kılıçlar Kilise to about the year 900. Iconographical analysis of this first large preserved cycle of pictures in a cross-domed church after the Iconoclast Controversy — if our new dating is correct — would certainly throw fresh light on many old problems.

Quite closely connected with the Kılıçlar Kilise are the frescoes of the Sümbülü Kilise in the Peristrema valley beside Irhala, which stand out from the other paintings in the Irhala district not only because of their quality, but also their style. M. and Mme. Thierry dated them to the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne thought they should be put at the beginning of the 12th century⁵⁷. But there are many arguments against this late dating.

There are hard, well defined lights divided into two or three large compartments and never pushed hard up against one another, but rounded off everywhere and usually sending out small rays at one end (in the figure of Simeon from the Presentation in the Temple in the north apse). They are accompanied by lines of light forming a round frame. The closest parallels to these are to be seen in the figures of the Apostles from the Mission of the Apostles on the western barrel vault of the Kılıçlar Kilise and in Paul on fol. 94r in Codex 210 in the National Library in Athens⁵⁸. The great sweep of the

outline, drawn in large and slightly curved strokes, the elongated figures and, above all, the facial types and the way in which the faces are fashioned are repeated in a fragment of a Leningrad Gospel manuscript, the Codex graecus No. 21⁵⁹. Side by side in the figures of the Sümbülü Kilise we see masses of light and long, narrow parallel folds drawn in with lines of light and shadow (especially in the Apostles of the Koimesis). These are the particular features that link the frescoes here so closely with the manuscripts we have mentioned, especially the Codex graecus 210 in Athens, which often appears to have been modelled in turn on the Pantocrator Psalter 61. Just compare Paul in the Athenian manuscript with the figure of Peter going towards Simon Magus in the Pantocrator Psalter (Weitzmann, *Illust.* 357). If we disregard the difference in character of the two paintings — one is a representational picture and the other a powerful narrative scene — we find a large measure of agreement in the setting out of the figures, the draping, the treatment of the folds and the way in which the leg that does not bear the weight of the body is drawn up under the knee. From this point of view we find it hard to understand why the paintings in the two manuscripts should be separated by 80 to 90 years at most or, by a more favourable estimate, 35 to 40. Of course, the general appearance of the Athenian manuscript is tense and narrower than the broad and forceful Pantocrator Psalter and pentimenti occur occasionally in the drawing of shadow. But all this would not justify an interval of nearly 100 years. Should Frolov be proved right, however, i. e., if the Khludoff and Pantocrator Psalters had an early dating, for example, to the twenties or thirties of the 9th century⁶⁰, the Athenian Codex graecus 210 and the Sümbülü Kilise could not be left at the beginning of the 10th century, but would have to be shifted to the end of the 9th century. In fact, we would not be far wrong if we provisionally put the Sümbülü Kilise into the period shortly after 900.

Although the paintings in the old Tokalı Kilise — those in layer II by our reckoning — are poorer in quality and more provincial than the frescoes of Kılıçlar and the Sümbülü Kilise with which we have just been dealing, they can be regarded as a masterpiece of Cappadocian painting nevertheless. This is because they are easily accessible and because of the great collection of architectural and painting work in the whole ensemble, also the size of the cycles, i. e., the number of scenes. So when people to-day think of Byzantine wall paintings in Cappadocia they nearly always have the Tokalı Kilise in mind. The scientific controversy between Guillaume de Jerphanion and Edmund Weigand about 30 years ago was sparked off mainly by the problem of classifying and dating its paintings⁶¹.

Nowhere is horror vacui more evident than in the Tokalı Kilise. And we do not only see this in the conglomeration of figures and scenes in the tiers — three on each half of the barrel vault — which are separated from one another merely by narrow red bands studded with pearls. They naturally become pushed over and into one another. The scenes are not separated. Often the first figure in one scene overlaps on to the last figure in the previous scene. The figures fill up the strip completely and generally come

right up against the top and the bottom and quite often burst out beyond the limits assigned to them. Although not exaggeratedly broad, they give an impression of squatness. This effect is accentuated by the fact that heads, hands, etc., have been painted just a shade too large. The outline is as unbroken as it can possibly be. The meagre scenic details and stage properties needed to indicate the place and the action are sometimes actually reduced. Sometimes half of an arcade is considered sufficient. We miss the comparatively rich architectural backgrounds of the Kılıçlar Kilise. The figures themselves appear round and robust and almost slightly bloated. There are no indented parts. These naively plastic figures are achieved partly by means of a round, swelling outline, drawn in a dark colour and usually accompanied by a ray of light.

There are two motifs in the internal drawing. We have a series of triangles, each one always turned round the opposite way from the one that follows it, and they are almost invariably linked together by three or four thin parallel lines of light coming in between, with semi-circles interrupting the system at the knees. This motif is familiar to us from the Paris Gregory (Bibl. Nat. Codex graecus 510), for example, in the picture of the Vision of Ezekiel or the Metamorphosis⁶². Persistent repetition of the same formula shows that in Tokalı II we are dealing with a provincial hardening of form. The second dominant motif also makes us come to the same conclusion. A thin long line of light is teased out into a great number of parallel strands all lying close together. The same motif is repeated from the other side in a rather more restrained form, this time in the shadow drawing. There are older examples of this formula, e. g., the lap folds of the Apostles in the Pentecost scene in the Kılıçlar Kilise which radiate out fanwise, also the models for this and parallel uses of it. It recurs in a manuscript from the Monastery of St. John on Patmos (Codex 70)⁶³, where it almost completely dominates the internal division of all the figures. This codex belonged in 1201 to the Monastery of St. John on Patmos, founded by monks from Latmos on the west coast of Asia Minor, and would almost certainly have been brought over from there. Comparison with the Tokalı paintings shows that Weitzmann was completely right in thinking that it was of Cappadocian origin. The dating is more doubtful. Lazarev⁶⁴ suggested a late date in the third quarter of the 11th century. But I feel that Weitzmann⁶⁵, who put it at about 900 or in the early 10th century, will be proved right.

There is an unusual measure of agreement about the dating of the paintings in Tokalı II. Jerphanion (II, 2, 416) and also Budde and Swoboda (124) suggested the beginning or the first half of the 10th century. We agree wholeheartedly.

It is not so easy to place the style of Tokalı correctly within the pattern of stylistic development and its different strands. Both the Kılıçlar and the Sümbülü Kilise came within the more or less direct current emanating from the Vatican manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes and the Parisinus graecus 510, although there are unmistakable reminders of the early group of psalters with marginal illustrations and the scenic strip pictures of the Paris Gregory are related in turn to the Pantocrator 61 and its group. But in the

Tokalı paintings, in addition to the provincial hardening of the Vatican Cosmas and the very much teased out lights of the Parisinus graecus 510, we find new features whose point of origin cannot be established, but which determine the general effect produced in the Patmensis 70, a work related to the Tokalı II and probably contemporaneous with it. But this cannot, as might readily be supposed, be an instance of pure provincialism, not owing anything to the capital. These features recur once more in the paintings at Çavuşin, shortly after the middle of the 10th century. Here they cannot be traced back to the comb-shaped lights of Tokalı II, but at once reveal a close connection with the capital because of their superb quality. Moreover, even in the Paris Gregory we occasionally find light and shadow cut into a herring-bone shape and looking almost like strangers in that context. They must come from somewhere else — there is only an echo of them in the Gregory manuscript. But, as so often happens, there are no surviving relics to help us.

Two other sections of the Tokalı paintings must be mentioned in this connection — the old sanctuary niche, which is partly destroyed, and the Saints on the north wall.

The Saint in the niche, on layer I according to my labelling in the Catalogue, is closely connected in colouring (dingy olive green, dark ochre and a gleaming red ochre flesh tint), and also in the hard drawing laid on with a broad brush, with the paintings in the Chapel of Joachim and Anne at Kızıl Çukur. There too we find the ornament that adorns the side walls of the Tokalı niche. Just a few fragments of it can also be seen, but in a slightly different colouring (yellow-green-red), in the first ornamental painting layer of Chapel 1 at El Nazar beside Göreme, of which little has been preserved. The figural style of Kızıl Çukur with its broad shadow lines, the practice of painting light and then shadow, the rather elongated proportions and the fresh and unconventional internal drawing revealing no definite motif and no set forms reminds us very much of the style of the Rabbula Codex in Florence⁶⁶. But the type of head and face used for the Saint in the Tokalı I niche also goes back to those of the Evangelists and monks in the Rabbula Codex as far as the general conception and the setting out are concerned. So we have found yet another line of descent from the older styles to the period after the Iconoclast Controversy. This style of painting turns up in manuscripts after the controversy in a rather coarsened form compared with the Rabbula Evangelist of 586, e. g., in the Parisinus graecus 923, probably a Palestinian manuscript from the middle of the 9th century⁶⁷, the Parisinus suppl. graecum 905⁶⁸, the Parisinus graecus 20 and the third part of Codex 171 from the Monastery of St. John on Patmos⁶⁹, also in the psalters with marginal illustrations. In our frescoes this style is carried on by the painter of the Prophetic Vision and the Pentecost Feast in the Pentecost Chapel beside Sinassos — Mustafa Paşa Köyü.

The three monuments with whose dating we are concerned here, the Saint in the Tokalı I niche, the cycle in the north chapel of Kızıl Çukur and part of the paintings in the Pentecost Chapel just mentioned, were probably not all created at the same time. Kızıl Çukur gives the impression of being the original one and is the painting most

reminiscent of the 6th century — for example, in the curly hair of the Angel in the Annunciation to Joachim and, above all, the soft informal plasticity of the figures. So we must put this painting at the beginning of the line. A short distance behind we have the picture of the Saint at Tokalı (I) and then, after a greater lapse of time, the Prophetic Vision and the Pentecost Feast from the Pentecost Chapel beside Sinassos. M. and Mme. Thierry⁷⁰ and later Swoboda⁷¹ put Kızıl Çukur at around 900. But, after actually venturing back to the final years of the 9th century with the Kılıçlar Kilise paintings, our thoughts turn rather to the middle of the 9th century in the case of Kızıl Çukur, which seems so directly in keeping with pre-iconoclastic work. The Saint in the Tokalı I niche would then come about 860/70 and the relevant parts of the Pentecost Chapel towards 900. This would be more or less in keeping with the dating of the comparable manuscripts, the Parisinus graecus 923 around 850 and the Patmensis 171⁷².

The Saints on the north wall of the old Tokalı Chapel, which we have labelled VII A—E, were not created at the same time. Except for St. Jerome, our No. VII D, Jerphanion attributed them all to one artist and to the same period as the paintings on the barrel vault. But one glance at the colouring tells us that that is not so. Part of the paintings, VII D and E, was actually done after the lowering of the level, which was preceded by the architectural work and the first ornamental painting in the large new Tokalı. Moreover, it is fairly certain that, if they were not completely renewed, they were at least vigorously restored. The repairs actually extended to the bottom tier of the northern vault, as can clearly be seen from the photographs. It is impossible to give anything in the nature of a definite date. Judging by the tonality, the restorations appear to have been carried out by the workshop of the Karanlık Kilise (Göreme, Chapel 23). This would at least give a terminus post quem non around the year 1200. A possible parallel to the group of Saints on the left would be the four Evangelists in an Armenian evangeliar from the first half of the 12th century, Matenadaran 2877⁷³.

Closely related to Tokalı II, i. e., to the Gospel cycle on the barrel vault of the old chapel, as far as drawing and motifs are concerned, is the so far unpublished Chapel 6a. In it we find the same triangles in the internal drawing and systems of parallel lines, although the work here has been done with a rather broader brush. The outlines give the same unbroken effect. But the colouring is quite different. The ochre and green chord used at Tokalı has been transformed here into a triad of red, yellow and grey. There is also an abundant use of architectural backgrounds. The Presentation in the Temple is set immediately below a jumble of temple roofs and domes. Every vacant space is filled up. Even in the bottom left-hand corner beside the Madonna from the Annunciation fragments of architectural motifs have been included⁷⁴. Horror vacui is even more marked than in Tokalı II.

It is impossible to decide whether these paintings came into existence before or after those in the old Tokalı Kilise. Both verdicts are possible if we consider the Kılıçlar Kilise. In the first case they would come between the two and in the other they would

add, to the items taken over from Tokalı, others that were in current use in the painting of the Kılıçlar Kilise. I myself incline towards the second view — not least because of the ever growing prevalence of yellow, which was not used so intensively before. According to this, Chapel 6a would have come into existence in the thirties or forties of the 10th century.

We cannot overlook the architectural background, based on Byzantine models and not entirely comprehensible in the form in which it appears here. It stands behind the scenes like a folding screen painted over with architectural motifs. We find a parallel to this in pictures of the Evangelists in the *Mike Evangeliar*, Codex San Lazzaro 1144, which was probably commissioned in 902⁷⁵. It would be an argument in favour of fixing the date at around 910. However, bearing in mind the dating of the Gospel cycle in the old Tokalı Chapel (II), this does not seem advisable.

We have not as yet encountered one of the most important stylistic currents emanating from the capital in this period — and one to which Weitzmann has devoted a great part of his investigations⁷⁶. I refer to the classical works of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. We mean by this the manuscript style found in the Paris Psalter (Parisinus graecus 139), the Joshua Rotulus, or Roll (Vaticanus Codex Palatinus graecus 431), Evangeliar No. 43 from the Athos Monastery of Stavronikita and an evangeliar from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai (Codex 204) — to mention only the most important representatives of this trend which modelled itself on Antiquity as far as motifs and also posture were concerned.

The following group of Cappadocian paintings, which ran parallel, chronologically, to the stream of court painting in the capital, was not based on these models either, but on the old, familiar works from the second half of the 9th century — in short, the group built up around the Paris Gregory (Parisinus graecus 510). Here its stylistic characteristics have been carried to such an extreme and exaggerated so much that they can only be described as breakdown or splinter products. There is an increasing tendency to divide up the work into small parts and towards formal geometry and abstraction in the internal drawing.

This development can even be observed in what is probably the earliest example of this group, Chapel 6 in Göreme, and appears first of all in the head types. They are, of course, definitely connected with those in the Kılıçlar Kilise and Tokalı II, i. e., they are derived from a late mixture of the Parisinus graecus 510 and 923. This is shown by the setting out and also the technique. The naive openness seen in the faces in the Paris Gregory and also in the Kılıçlar Kilise has shifted more in the direction of the innumerable "portrait" medallions in the Parisinus graecus 923. A mood of ascetic solemnity and hardness has crept into the faces. The heads have become oval. The dominant figures are now stocky, thickset peasant types — for example, David and Solomon in the Anastasis — stamped with the ascetic idealism of monks, especially in the cheek and chin areas, as can be seen in some of the Apostles in the Ascension scene. This goes back partly to the

Paris Gregory. Compare, for instance, the head of David on fol. 143v of the Parisinus graecus 510 with that of Solomon in the Anastasis in Chapel 6. The shape and cut of the cap of hair⁷⁷ and of the beard, the gloomily reflective eyebrows, the cheeks and the rather square skull all belong closely together. The lengthening of the cheek and chin areas evident in the Apostles from the Ascension scene seems, however, to take us back to the types shown in the heads of Paul and Chrysostom in Manuscript 210 of the National Library in Athens⁷⁸. The Evangelists of the Vaticanus graecus 1522⁷⁹, especially John, fol. 4v, also have this peevish look of meditation on their faces, tinged with ascetic idealism.

In the setting out, contours and drawing the figures can be regarded as completely successful. In composition such figures as the Apostles from the Metamorphosis in Chapel 6 also appear related to those in the Parisinus graecus 510. The standing figure of the favourite Apostle, probably Peter, as in the corresponding scene from the Paris Gregory, is set out in the same way as John in the Crucifixion scene from the Kılıçlar Kilise, but there have been many changes as far as details of the internal drawing are concerned. The triangular wedge-shaped portions of the robes coming over the upper arms of the Apostles in the Ascension are inserted into the system of draperies and folds in a very unrealistic manner. The lights used in the Kılıçlar figures have now become short-rhythm motifs, which have been doubled or trebled for emphasis. The half-moons of light with stems at the beginning and the end are linked together by means of Z-shaped strokes. Teased out or fan-shaped lights and shadows are not as popular as, for example, in the old Tokalı Chapel. This means that the very devices used to give the figures a plastic effect have been suppressed. The almost calligraphic rendering of the half-moon lights, superimposed here on the local colour like a second layer and hardly anywhere growing out of it or sinking back into it, inevitably gives the picture a general effect of flatness. This impression is accentuated by the rigid triple background strip and the trees in the "stage set", which look as if they had been cut out and stuck on the picture. Not only have the figures lost their plastic effect, but free space has been eliminated from the entire composition. In the Kılıçlar Kilise too the action and figures have been pushed into the foreground, as in the strip pictures of the Paris Gregory, so that the action takes place, as it were, at the front of the stage. In Chapel 6 they have become flat figures like the characters in a shadow play; the space round about them and the distance between them and the background have become unimportant. But, at the same time, proportioning of the figures is taking place slowly. They are becoming taller. This development may run parallel to the Petropolitanus 21 and would not occur before the middle of the 10th century.

The paintings in Chapel 1 in Göreme (El Nazar) undoubtedly go further in that direction. Although the individual motif fragments are occasionally strung together on one thread (Matthew from the Ascension on the dome), they nevertheless give the effect of being chopped up and of rushing along in breathless, jostling succession. Others, in the

case of Paul and John, have wrenched themselves free from the connecting thread and have become separate and independent. The strokes radiating out from their three corners are no longer fitted into the overall sweep of the fold arrangement, but swirl round their own light shapes and form systems of their own. Occasionally this tendency is carried to such an extreme that single lines and dots become completely detached from the system they are in. Only by studying their orientation can we see what motif they come from. The best example of this complete disintegration of the vast combined system of light and shadow in the Kılıçlar Kilise into an abstract network of individual motifs or fragments of motifs, strokes, lines and dots is the seated Apostle in the Metamorphosis in the left corner segment of the west lunette. Here we see complete disintegration of this style — a final point in its evolution where decadence has already set in.

The heads too appear to be an extension of what we found in Chapel 6. The short skull and wide forehead have disappeared almost completely. One of the rare examples of this can be seen in the seated figure of the favourite Disciple from the Metamorphosis, which we have mentioned already. On the other hand, there are many figures with an oval-shaped cranium and large, solemnly staring eyes. The best examples of this are the Apostle heads from the Ascension scene on the dome. And there is yet another type, which differs from a technical point of view from the types that we have been discussing (cf. Catalogue). This type tends to have a melancholy and tearful expression, such as we often find in the Codex Petropolitanus 21. Compare the Anastasis picture, the Apostle standing next to Christ in the picture of Doubting Thomas, the Evangelist Mark and a few heads from the picture of the Washing of Feet in the Leningrad Evangelist⁸⁰. The best preserved specimens of this style are the two medallions of Abraham and Isaac in the west cross arm. For this reason too the suggestion made in the Catalogue that the work should be attributed to two masters because of the different ways in which the colour has been built up in the flesh tint appears to be justified. The internal drawing in the faces also looks different. In the Apostles in the Ascension we see blotchy cheek and forehead lights applied in broad patches, together with hair lights in the form of thin, sharp parallel lines of hatching. Just a few shadows in the form of short lines, often mere dabs, are used to define the hairs of the head and beard. The other master uses only extremely thin transparent cheek lights, or none at all. In the flesh tint there are just a very few sharp lines of light over the eyebrows and on the bridge of the nose. At the inside and outside corners of the eye there is an elaborate light consisting of three rays. The hair styles are not combed vertically, but mainly horizontally or else they follow the oval of the face. For division of the hair into individual tufts longish shadow lines are used — in clear contrast to the "helmets" of hair worn by the Ascension Apostles, all in a uniformly cactus-like style. Here the hair is combed into larger strands.

We cannot show any examples from book illumination that correspond exactly to this late style with all its ornamental flourishes, which is in the process of disintegration. Certain tendencies, not carried to quite that extreme, are to be seen in the Vaticanus

graecus 1522⁸¹, especially in the picture of Luke on fol. 93v. More are to be found, as we have already mentioned, in the Petropolitanus 21. Both manuscripts are among the late ones of their group, like the paintings of El Nazar. We must therefore fix a date right at the end of the 10th century.

The paintings in the Belli Kilise I in Soğanlı dere also belong here. The faces have a penetrating, meditative and almost peevish look (compare the head of John), and the hard and ascetic form of the heads and also the underpainting method used are quite close to what we find in the Apostle heads in Chapel 6.

The proportioning of the figures is different, especially in the north aisle. But this appears to be due entirely to the double tier arrangement on both sides of the barrel vault, which compels the figures to be squatter than usual. With their disproportionately large heads and hands (the best scene to compare here is the Calling of John) they almost look like gnomes.

The internal drawing is broken up into a few inspired lines of quivering light that are seldom combined to form triangle shapes.

Other persons are reduced to half-length figures, for example, Simeon the Stylite and his neighbours. Once again we see the tendency towards disintegration evident in Chapel 1 in Göreme (El Nazar), with its flat abstract drawing in the form of semi-circles and lines radiating out from them, dots and so on. These paintings would have been produced towards the end of the 10th century.

FRESCOES OF THE MAIN MACEDONIAN PERIOD

The great Dovecote of Çavuşin is the first pictorial work in Cappadocia that can be reliably dated. The two donors had their pictures put up on the left side wall. They are two high-ranking officers on horseback. The name of one of them has been preserved in a legible state. He is a certain Magistros Melias, whom we know better by his Armenian name of Mleh, thanks to the investigations of Henri Grégoire⁸². The donors also arranged for the then ruling Emperor and Empress, Nicephorus II Phocas and Theophano (963—969), to be portrayed in the prothesis apse, together with relatives. Melias, or Mleh, was defeated at Amida in 973 and subsequently died in Baghdad. In December 969 Nicephorus Phocas was murdered in his bed-chamber at the instigation of his former comrade in arms John Tzimiskes and Theophano, who had become his lover.

The frescoes must therefore have come into existence around 965.

It is not so easy to assess these paintings. Jerphanion⁸³ regarded them as a crude and clumsy monastic replica of the frescoes in the new Tokalı Church (layer VI in the Catalogue). According to Jerphanion, who only visited them on two separate mornings, hardly anyone could see the interior of the church which was used as a dovecote and was shut up. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne succeeded in 1960 or 1962 — this is not clear from her notes — in viewing the paintings by means of a very expensive ladder. She was

the first to recognise their value and she recorded that fact⁸⁴. A short time ago the church was opened to the public again. The perches for the pigeons, which were a great handicap to Jerphanion when he was examining and photographing the pictures, have been removed. An iron staircase makes it easier to reach and a caretaker is there to see that this valuable church is kept safe and clean.

The almost critical verdict of Jerphanion and the long period of isolation during which the paintings were virtually forgotten have prevented them from being studied adequately and so their great importance has not been realised. They merely served as a date peg on which to hang the frescoes of the new Tokalı Kilise (VI). The new photographs and the details they contain show that here at Çavuşin, barely seventy years after the paintings of the Kılıçlar Kilise, which we discussed at the start, if our new dating is correct, yet another pinnacle of Cappadocian painting was reached.

Arrangement of the pictorial decoration in strips is still the dominant method, but the barrel-vaulted longitudinal chamber here lends itself better to this architecturally than the cross-domed church of Kılıçlar with its complicated division into separate parts, which is much more conducive to the use of individual pictures. However, at Çavuşin the strip narration method is abandoned in the eastern half of the barrel vault and two scenes, the Ascension and the Mission of the Apostles, are combined to form a large composition that dominates the whole. There is no departure from the picture-strip method of presentation in the old Tokalı Kilise (II), but this does happen in Chapel 6, which from the point of view of painting style represents an offshoot of the Kılıçlar group, but in this point at least appears to have been influenced to some extent by the new decoration principle. The arrangement of the Ascension on the dome of Kılıçlar, which has a parallel in the mosaics of the Hagia Sophia in Salonika, no doubt had an effect here. El Nazar is influenced by it too. This process has its counterpart in the use of full-page pictures in manuscripts. The initial stages of this can be seen in the Vatican Cosmas (Vat. gr. 699). It has been fully developed here and there in the Paris Gregory (Par. gr. 510) and is at its height in the Paris Psalter (Par. gr. 139), to mention only the main developmental stages. Apart from this large composition with the Blessing of the Apostles and the Ascension, there are many factors in the Çavuşin paintings, including the strip pictures, that take us on towards the single and independent picture or the single scene. Both in the main strips in the Kılıçlar Kilise and — even more clearly — in those of the old Tokalı (II) the narrative and the various scenes run smoothly into one another.

But there are limits at Çavuşin. The ground plane does not run in a band right through the whole tier. The figures no longer have the same standing height (the Arrest of Christ). They do not fill up the picture strip completely. They are grouped round a central picture inside the scene (the Crucifixion). The painter ventures to show crowd scenes (once again the best example of this is the Crucifixion scene), with the figures in these scenes melting into the background as a result of the composition, the differentiation of size and the intensity of the drawing and colour, i. e., the acting is no longer confined to the front of

the stage. We are suddenly faced with leading actors and "extras" (the Arrest of Christ, the Entry into Jerusalem). In all these ways different planes of space and action are created.

One scene comes hard up against the next, sometimes as if it were pushing against it (this is probably seen most clearly in the top tier on the north wall: Pilate Washing His Hands — the Arrest of Christ — the Crucifixion). It is almost as if two painters had just gone beyond the appointed limits of their scenes. If more space were available, one could easily draw in a red dividing line. In another instance four single scenes are fused together to form a single "picture" — the Killing of Zacharias with the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem in the lower half of the strip and the Pursuit of Elizabeth with the seated figure of Herod above this. The single tier has not been made into two, perhaps owing to lack of space. But the scenes merge into one another to such an extent that the intention obviously was to build up a sequence producing a graduated effect of depth. The Pursuit of Elizabeth and the Receiving of Herod's Order to Kill are actually enacted behind the murder scene. Moreover, in the case of the Angels in the Ascension scene bearing the mandorla, the upper part of the body shines through the aureole, which is painted translucently in white. This once again gives a sequence in depth. A similar effect can be seen in the group with the two younger Magi turning towards one another in the background, while the oldest of them is already offering his gift to the Infant Jesus, sitting on the lap of His enthroned Mother in the foreground. We can hardly overlook such attempts to fill the available space by means of various compositional devices. Preliminary stages in this process can be seen in the Pentecost Feast and the Mission of the Apostles in the Kılıçlar Kilise, which cover the whole of the west cross arm, so taking the picture right round the space available⁸⁵. This device is also used at Çavuşin in the Ascension scene, where four Apostles have been transferred to the southern half of the barrel vault, with the Mission of the Apostles⁸⁶ coming in between. As in Chapel 6, this involves transfer of a dome composition to a barrel vault, using the same space effect. The idea of building the picture up round the space available is not new — it was used about seventy years previously in the Kılıçlar Kilise. What is new is this attempt to fit the space, as it were, into the picture. We see this in the differentiation of foreground and background events, the excellent semi-circular grouping round the Cross and the new background effect of architecture in the picture of Pilate Washing His Hands, where the servants do actually emerge from the palace gate and come up to Pilate from the side and hold out the wash basin to him.

In the same scene we find something even more advanced. Pilate is washing his hands, but has turned his head round the other way and is listening carefully to what Christ is saying. Apart from the fact that two scenes have once again been combined into one and are grouped, as it were, round the central figure of Pilate, the gesture of Pilate seems to fill the whole of the space. Here we have not merely a whole picture or a scene, but a single figure built up round the space available. A similar attempt is sometimes made with two figures — for example, the Angel with his vast wings reaching from back to front,

bending over the obliquely positioned bed of the sleeping Joseph. Although the perspective is reversed, this intention is quite clear. The best example of such an attempt on the part of the painter is the "torsion figure" of the Angel sitting beside the empty Tomb. We see the play of his wings, which emphasises the coordinates, the countermovement of his arms, the turning of the head and the twisting round of the upper part of the body at an angle of almost 90° in relation to the leg position, with the head having to be thought of in terms of this turning movement. This complete mastery of contrapposto is astonishing, but appears to be a characteristic feature of the middle of the century. It is also to be found in manuscripts, such as the Vaticanus Chis. R. VIII, 54 (fol. 41v, cf. Weitzmann, *Illust.* 61).

A similar attempt is made by the painter in the case of the kneeling Apostles in the Metamorphosis on the east wall over the apse arch, where the Z-shaped posture of the body is not parallel to the picture plane, but is placed diagonally in relation to it and at a sharp angle.

[The internal drawing in the figures is also completely in keeping with this desire to create space. The masses of light which we have come across hitherto, sometimes broken up into different shapes, in the late works of the Early Macedonian group, have been given up almost entirely. Meagre remnants are occasionally to be found near the knees. Otherwise the drawing is dominated by parallel and fan-shaped folds. This style is used systematically. Basically, one side of the figure becomes the light side and the other the shadow side. This means that lines of light are only occasionally incorporated into the fine shadow hatching, and vice versa, in order to enhance the plastic effect. This applies not only to the rounding of the figures and the bodies in the trunk, leg and arm areas, but also to the fashioning of lap folds, fullness in garments, etc. The only persons not subjected to this almost flickering welter of parallel and fan-shaped folds are the supernatural figures of Christ and Mary in the Ascension and the Mission of the Apostles. Their upper garments, laid on in masses of gleaming red, are only moulded by a relatively small number of brilliant white lights that have a silvery effect.

Contrasting, as it were, with this style, which models and sculpts every tiny detail of the draperies, are the faces and flesh of the figures. They are completely flat and uniform in colour, although set out in the most delicate pink. The only way in which the artist defines the elegant, aristocratic heads is by drawing in a sensitive outline with delicate brushwork. He has a classical tendency in the 19th century sense, almost reminiscent of Ingres, to restrict himself to outline and omit internal drawing, hatching and shading.

The most striking feature of the paintings at Çavuşin is, however, the rather artificial elongation of the figures. The thighs are tremendously long and so is the upper part of the body and a long, narrow, swan-like neck rises from round shoulders and is crowned with a head that is too small. The figures are, on the whole, narrow with high hips. They are elegantly columnar and slender. In spite of the spacious gestures and movements, usually described in a circle round the body, the entire outline is remarkably unbroken

and this emphasises the slenderness of the figures. A wide outward swing is permitted only in the case of the Angels' wings. Corners of garments are pulled close to the body (the green Angel beside the Madonna in the Ascension scene) or freeze into triangular, board-like shapes if they do have to be away from the body, as in the Angel of the Annunciation. Here, as in the severe hatching on the folds, we see hardness and also carelessness in the workmanship, which clearly show that the master at Çavuşin did not belong to the top rank of metropolitan painters, although some of the more successful figures and compositions might suggest this, but he did come quite close to metropolitan painting — this very general classification is intentional.

The artistic devices that we have indicated can indeed be observed everywhere in the contemporary art thought to belong to the capital city, but the loss of all the frescoes in the capital from that period prevents us from making serious comparisons or drawing lines of demarcation. Some reference should, however, be made to other branches of art so that the paintings can be fitted into the chronological pattern.

First of all, we must mention a number of ivories grouped round the famous ivory panel showing the coronation of an Emperor called Romanus, probably Romanus II (959—963), and his consort Eudocia in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris⁸⁷ and therefore called the Romanus Group. The most important pieces apart from the leading one in the group, the Romanus Ivory, include, in particular, a plaque in the Moscow Museum of Art representing the crowning of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913—959) by Christ⁸⁸, the so-called Harbaville Triptych in the Louvre in Paris⁸⁹ and related pieces⁹⁰, also the statuette of a standing Madonna and Child in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London⁹¹, which is a unique piece of work. Swoboda⁹² expressed the view that the "Romanus Group . . . does not fully participate in the classicism shown by the corresponding chronological phase of painting". This would refer, in particular, to the Paris Psalter (Parisinus graecus 139) and Evangeliiar No. 43 of Stavronikita, also the main manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance.

In this respect the Romanus Group resembles our paintings at Çavuşin with their artificially elongated figures, small heads, exaggeratedly long fingers and fragile aristocratic dignity. Here we can make a direct comparison between the ivory Madonna in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the portrayals of the Madonna at Çavuşin with their noble and austere girlishness. Even details of fold formation are quite similar.

There are also examples in book illumination — in Codex 204 from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai⁹³ and in the Petropolitanus 21⁹⁴, which is not so close to the classical type of manuscripts as far as the fold style is concerned, but all the closer to Çavuşin. In this category we must also include a manuscript in Pluteus V, 9, in the Laurentiana in Florence⁹⁵ and the Parisinus graecus 70⁹⁶. This entire group appears in book illumination under the name of the parallel fold style⁹⁷. The Angels in the bema of the Hagia Sophia are now⁹⁸ — quite rightly, I feel — ascribed to that period⁹⁹.

In spite of all this material, we have, however, been unable to decide how far away

the master of Çavuşin is from the contemporary wall paintings of the capital, or how close he is to them. Indeed, this question cannot always be answered even in the case of the corresponding group of book illuminations, where considerably more relics have been preserved. The fact that the Petropolitanus 21 has been attributed to a variety of places from Trebizond (Weitzmann) to Cappadocia (Millet, Morey) or a secondary workshop in the capital (Swoboda) clearly illustrates our dilemma¹⁰⁰. For the time being, we must adhere to what we said at the beginning and ascribe it to the "capital area", but we cannot even say definitely whether it is from a second-rate workshop in Constantinople itself or a good provincial workshop in Asia Minor whose masters managed to keep themselves up-to-date with the help of recent models.

We are helped here by the picture of the Emperor in the prothesis apse, which is very closely connected with a marble emperor fragment in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul¹⁰¹ and the Constantine ivory in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection¹⁰², i. e., with less cultivated, although no less magnificent works of the Romanus Group. Unfortunately, the dating of the individual pieces in the Romanus Group is not precise enough¹⁰³ for us to draw any definite conclusions. But it can be assumed that the paintings of Çavuşin around 965 belong completely to the style of the "marginal Romanus Group" (by which we mean the pieces already mentioned, the emperor fragment in Constantinople and the Constantine in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection) around 950/55 and were created by an artist working along these lines.

The paintings of the new Tokalı Kilise (layers IV and VI) have for a long time been regarded as being very closely connected with those at Çavuşin¹⁰⁴. In Jerphanion's case the reasons given are, above all, iconographical, i. e., the distribution of the scenes on the barrel vault and the combination of the Ascension and the Mission of the Apostles made him come to that conclusion. The difference in style between the two works in spite of the similar proportioning of the figures is put down to inaccurate copying on the part of the "crude" master of Çavuşin¹⁰⁵. At Tokalı we do indeed find a great many of the striking features of the Çavuşin paintings and this includes the emancipation of the individual scene within what is still a frieze arrangement and the placing of different scenes, groups of scenes or persons one behind the other (the Baptism in the Jordan, the Calling of the Apostles). Occasionally the architectural backgrounds are no longer backgrounds in the true sense, but afford glimpses through arches into a pillared hall or something similar (the Marriage in Cana). But it is, above all, the slender and extraordinarily elongated figures with small heads that awaken memories of Çavuşin and remind us of the style used around and shortly after the middle of the 10th century. The internal drawing of the heads and the draperies is quite different. The graphical parallel fold style that dominates everything with a pattern of light and shade at Çavuşin is subdued here in the new Tokalı, as if present only in the background. Whole series of hatchings to represent light and shade are still used, but they have become jerkier and more finicky and seem more like an addition. Just compare the Magi or the Angels from the Baptism at

Tokalı with any figure at all at Çavuşin and you will see the difference between the two painting methods. But what distinguishes them most clearly from each other is the different outlook on colour. At Çavuşin the colours are bright and are sometimes placed side by side in a contrasting manner, but at Tokalı we only have different gradations of the same colour. A universal tone of brownish grey is spread over the whole of the painting like a brown varnish, such as we see on old pictures in galleries. This produces a technique similar to grisaille painting. The background, done in a deep and strident blue, helps to accentuate this effect. The faces no longer appear as even masses of delicate pink, but have been moulded by the use of graduated tones of white and brown blending into one another. If we try to estimate the date from these observations alone we shall arrive at the same result as Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne did in her article and say that Çavuşin is more strongly attached to 9th century tradition than Tokalı and, as the more beautiful of two paintings — i. e., the one that is higher in quality — often comes later, the Tokalı Kilise should probably be placed after Çavuşin¹⁰⁰. Swoboda moved the cycle even further on and proposed a date around 1100¹⁰⁷. Years ago it seemed to me that even later features in the work, above all, the unusual colouring, suggested an extremely late date¹⁰⁸. From a certain point of view all these dates have something to commend them, but none of them, my own late dating to the 16th century included, is satisfactory if we take into account all the different aspects of the paintings, some of which are highly conflicting.

None of these investigators — including myself in 1959 — was aware of the existence of that very revealing portion of the prothesis which finally enabled us to decide definitely (cf. Catalogue, X) about the overpainting or repainting of all the pictures in Tokalı IV to VI. Only the meagre remains at that spot, which have not been restored, should be taken into account when we are dating the original paintings in the new Tokalı Kilise (layer IV).

Even the colouring was different. Once again we find all the tones familiar to us at Çavuşin — bright green, pink, orange, ochre, dove-blue and light grey. The fold style is not so narrow as at Çavuşin and is more balanced and relaxed. Plastic moulding of the figures is not merely achieved as at Çavuşin by the combined effect of all the fold drawing, but is built up fold by fold. These features can be seen in the main works of the Romanus Group, so it is possible for us to make a comparison between the shoulder and the left part of the cloak of St. Timothy in the prothesis and the statuette of the Madonna in London¹⁰⁹, although we must be careful because only fragments of Tokalı IV have been preserved. If we assume that the composition and drawing in the restored Tokalı VI were taken over from layer IV, which can be proved in the prothesis at least, although this probably applied elsewhere too, we shall find other possible points of comparison, between, for example, the Crucifixion in the central apse conch and the middle portion of an ivory triptych in London¹¹⁰ and a related piece in Berlin¹¹¹. Every detail in the posture of the crucified Christ and the wood of the Cross itself and the two mourning

Angels show a close connection with the London triptych of the Crucifixion, which is generally put at about 988 because it was perhaps fashioned for the marriage of Princess Anne, a daughter of Romanus II, to Vladimir the Great of Russia, as one may infer from the prominent placing of the Saints Joachim and Anne. Other features of the composition at Tokalı, for example, the two soldiers and the extended circle of faithful followers of Jesus round the Cross, rather show a resemblance to the Berlin Crucifixion. All these comparisons indicate that the painter of Tokalı IV, unlike the painter of Çavuşin, is not to be sought on the fringe of the Romanus Group, but actually came close to the main works of that group. For the present we cannot draw any conclusions from all this about the date and pin it down precisely within the second half of the 10th century, although I myself incline more towards the last two decades of that century.

Comparisons based on the restored parts of the new Tokalı must, of course, be confined to general composition and motifs. Internal drawing, the fold style and the moulding of the figures cannot be taken into consideration. These are the aspects that have suffered most in the remaking operation. But, in spite of all this, we are surprised to see how closely the restorers have kept to the original style in the individual motifs, judging by the remains of the original work in the prothesis. One wonders if they had design books or manuscripts at their disposal. However, it is more likely that they tackled it bit by bit and took their inspiration from old parts nearby that were still tolerably well preserved and used them as their model for the internal drawing.

The question arising from all this is: When did the restoration take place? We have only two vague clues. In one of his most recent works Weitzmann laid particular emphasis on the copies made from Macedonian manuscripts¹¹². For example, the most faithful copies of the famous Evangeliar No. 43 from the Monastery of Stavronikita on Athos did not belong to the 11th or the 12th century, but came in a London evangeliar appearing in 1305¹¹³. There is also the new technique in Tokalı VI, which, broadly speaking, no longer involved the use of lime and casein as the binding medium, but size or glue or similar materials. The extensive mottling proves this. A new painting technique of this kind appears to have started up slowly, but not until the end of the 12th century¹¹⁴. Cautiously following up these two clues, we might suggest a date around 1300 for the renovation of the newer Tokalı Kilise.

A final layer of paintings in the Tokalı Kilise has still to be discussed, although it is very badly damaged. I refer to the Pentecost Feast in the vestibule of the old church, which has been called layer V in the Catalogue. Judging by the tonality, it belongs to the paintings of the 10th century. Pink, white, grey, green and brown ochre can be seen. The heads have been completely destroyed. The fan-shaped fold style, with narrow little lines in pure white and a darker local tone, suggests a close relationship with Çavuşin. The posture and proportioning of the figures reinforce this idea. The Pentecost Feast might therefore have been created at the same time as the paintings of Tokalı IV, but by a master working in the Çavuşin tradition.

With these frescoes from the vestibule of Tokalı we come to a whole group of paintings which still show a strong connection with Early Macedonian works, but have also been greatly influenced by the method of painting used at Çavuşin and Tokalı and freshly imported from the capital. The best known example is the cycle from the Chapel of Theotokos and St. George, No. 9 in Göreme. The various head types portrayed clearly reflect something of the delightfully naive and frank painting style in the Kılıçlar Kilise, but they also reveal a close connection with the painting method of the master who was responsible for the west cross arm at El Nazar (Chapel 1), e. g., in two Prophet medallions at the apex of the barrel vault, showing Enoch and Elijah, and Joachim on the northern part of the vault. The even pink glykasmos on the faces with a limited amount of drawing and thin white lines accompanying the eyebrows is very similar in both. But in Chapel 9 there is greater division of the hair into individual parts running back round the head. The proportions of the Çavuşin figures have been fully maintained here. The extraordinarily elongated thighs and narrow hips and shoulders with small rounded oval heads set on long necks are the painter's ideal of beauty, which is based on exaggerated slenderness and a suggestion of fragility.

But in the internal drawing a variety of different trends are represented. We have a mixture of motifs from several stages in the development of Early Macedonian painting and others from the parallel and fan-shaped fold style of the Main Macedonian period. For example, in the middle figure among the temple maidens escorting Mary we find light shapes on the thigh like those we observed in the Sümbülü Kilise beside İrhala and in Codex 210 in the National Library in Athens¹¹⁵, but now in triplicate in the manner of Chapel 6 and more definitely elongated. The top one, a hard and well defined light coming to a rounded point at the top, with the rays emerging from it combed down on both sides, also occurred in the Belli Kilise I in Soğanlı dere. In addition, we have parallel folds with thin, sharp lines of light, based unmistakably on Çavuşin and thus on metropolitan works belonging to about the middle of the 10th century. But we have not nearly exhausted the widely ranging possibilities of this painting from the point of view of internal detail. On the forearm we once again find two comb-shaped lights such as are customary at El Nazar. These are quite unsystematic and are merely used to divide up the surface. The device is repeated on the shin of the non-weight-bearing leg. The lap folds, on the other hand, are done in the Çavuşin manner. In the internal drawing of a single figure we therefore find a combination of motifs from the repertoire of the entire 10th century. Other figures are drawn in a more uniform manner, for example, Adam in the Anastasis, who is done entirely in the parallel and fan-shaped fold style. This is occasionally to be found — although in a rather broader and more wooden and angular form — in the Vatican Job¹¹⁶. The medallion image of the Archangel Michael on the apse arch to the left of Christ can in turn be compared with another of the same in the Vaticanus graecus 1522¹¹⁷. In other figures (Joseph from the Journey to Bethlehem) we see, in addition to the motifs described above, single dab marks like those

occurring in Chapels 6 and 1 (El Nazar) in Göreme and also lights in the form of small lines running obliquely from the outline, in the manner of Tokalı IV. The Angel in the Annunciation scene combines this composite and eclectic "system" of lights with bold and sometimes fan-shaped shadow divisions in the spirit of the Kılıçlar Kilise and there is one innovation — we find that a series of shadow lines are surrounded by a casing of thin light strokes. As a result, this particular part of the figure, the abdomen and the thighs, stands out very well indeed, whereas other parts, especially the upper arm and the shoulder, where the light is appliquéd on in the El Nazar manner, have a purely flat effect. It is extremely difficult to date the "style" of this painting, as it contains such an eclectic mixture of themes, motifs and pictorial aspirations representing the work of a century at least. The latest features are certainly the decisive ones from this point of view and they take us up to the closing years of the 10th century.

Also belonging to the same group is a cycle of paintings in Chapel 1 in Güllü dere, which have survived in a rather fragmentary state and have only been given a brief and scanty mention hitherto. Here we find the familiar predilection for yellow, orange and grey. The figures are slender and elongated and move artificially. In the small heads we see a departure from the harsh, ascetic ideal and a return to the naively charming expression of earlier days. The hair styles (e. g., Joseph in the Presentation in the Temple), with the hair marked in with small, straight, vertical lines, as in the Job Codex from the Marciana in Venice¹¹⁸, remind us of those in the cycle of the old Tokalı Kilise. Alternatively (in Simeon from the same scene), they tend more towards the neatly arranged strands seen in the figures from Chapel 1 (El Nazar). At the same time the whole shape of the face with a long beard trailing downwards like a seal's whiskers reminds us of Simeon in the Sümbülü Kilise beside İrhala. This means that 9th and 10th century models are already being used in the formation of heads and faces.

But the internal drawing in the draperies is more uniform in appearance. However, in addition to the familiar forms — the dominant style of parallel and fan-shaped folds and the residues of geometrical light masses — we suddenly find hooks and bends in the individual lines, like those used by the painter of the Prophetic Vision and the Pentecost Feast in the Pentecost Church beside Sinassos, or loops and rosettes in the drawing, the like of which we have hardly ever seen before. There is, as far as I know, only one really similar example of this last device, used on the wings of an Angel from the Baptism scene in Chapel 1 in Güllü dere, and that is in an Angel medallion in a Vatican manuscript¹¹⁹, to which we have already referred. If we also consider the circle ornament filled with crosses on the underside of the apse arch, which might have been done almost by the same hand that painted the ornament on the dividing arch between the vestibule and the old Tokalı Kilise, we soon realise that here too we are in the closing years of the 10th century and are dealing with a painter who was thoroughly acquainted with the earlier work and put this knowledge into practice and occasionally added something new (e. g., the rosette and loop shape). In his manipulation of these inherited motifs he created a

picture which was perhaps not of higher quality, but was at least rather more uniform than that produced by the painter of Chapel 9 in Göreme.

In that group of paintings the work that gives the greatest impression of quality and completeness is to be found in a badly damaged chapel that has not so far been publicised, i. e., No. 4a in Göreme. In this the varying origins of the individual motifs in the internal drawing do not stand out so strongly. Although single features of the work are sometimes unrealistic, they combine to form an elegant and convincing whole from the point of view of general posture, gesture and movement. In the quietly serious faces, which certainly do not have any look of exaltation, the pleasantly naive expression seen in the Kılıçlar Kilise is no longer evident. The ascetic solemnity of the Ascension painter of El Nazar has left his mark here too. In spite of the rounded oval heads, which are delightfully drawn, the large eyes and the small, straight mouths look very solemn. Sharp, deep lines in the internal drawing give them a hardness which to some extent comes through the otherwise soft shape of the faces.

The general impression we get of an exceedingly crumpled and fragmented drapery style awakens very vivid memories of the Paris Gregory, especially of the figures in the Vision of Ezekiel¹²⁰, but we are clearly aware that other memories have forced their way in between this distant model and the final work. These are sometimes provincial features — for example, the powerfully teased out lights that go back to Tokalı II and so to the Patmensis 70¹²¹ — and sometimes reminders of monuments like Çavuşin (lap folds, parallel and fan-shaped folds). But the human being is also shown differently and now bears more the stamp of ascetic idealism, which has a great effect on the formation of the faces. However, all these different things do not stand out separately, but form a new combination, a new synthesis. The quality of the painting is excellent nearly everywhere. The internal drawing of light and shade is not simply a collection of formal motifs superimposed on the local colour as in Chapel 1 (El Nazar). Nor is it only occasionally combined together rather imperfectly, as in Chapel 9, to give us a single overall picture. Instead it is actually incorporated pictorially into the colour, usually in a realistic manner. The colour effect is often produced in this way by combining the local colour and the internal drawing, inserted in a suitably different hue. This moulds the figures more in a pictorial than a graphical way. We are again reminded of important models, such as the Parisinus graecus 510. It is very difficult to date this kind of synthetic painting exactly owing to the lack of dated parallel examples. But, having tried to deal with and solve the painting problems of an entire century, we realise that we are more or less at the end of what we originally called the "hybrid group", i. e., we are in the years around 1000.

A latecomer belonging to this group, but including some later and newer features too, is Chapel 16 in Göreme. The limited use of colour (yellow ochre and red ochre), the new, incipient hardening of certain motifs (comb-shaped lights on the thigh of the Angel in the Annunciation scene, which remind us of Joseph in the Nativity scene in the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı) and the advanced type of ornamentation (ornamental band run-

ning along the main cornice between the wall and the barrel vault¹²²) show that we are well into the 11th century, although the heads and figures used are still reminiscent of the paintings of the 10th century.

A further set of paintings which has recently been dated on repeated occasions to the 10th century¹²³ is the cycle in the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilisesi beside Belisırma in the Peristrema valley. The proportions and the drawing remind us of Macedonian works. We have already met these triangular and highly geometrical light patches in the Tokalı Kilise II, which in turn go back to manuscripts like the Vatican Cosmas¹²⁴ and the Paris Gregory. The paintings can sometimes almost be termed elegant (the Archangel Michael in the apse), but we should be on our guard for two reasons. Firstly, certain stylistic features can be carried on into later periods. In the present case, the paired triangular lights with thin lines set between them in the accustomed way also appear in the structure of the tree stump in the Journey to Bethlehem in the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı dere, which cannot have been painted before 1006 at the earliest. The unrelenting use of geometrical devices is evident in both works and they are very different from the more elastic and variegated forms of the 10th century in the Tokalı Kilise II. Secondly, there is the technique and, leading on from this, the tonality. Pure lime painting appears to have been discontinued. The almost universal darkening of all the colours, including white, indicates that the painter used binding media that were alien to lime and to masonry. So far we have not come across these before the 11th, if not actually the 12th century. For these reasons I do not feel inclined to put the cycle from the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilise in the 10th century, but in the 11th, as a late example of the old style. In a case like this where so many characteristics have been carried over from the past it is not really possible to give a more precise date, although I would tend to favour the first half of the 11th century — always providing that the similarity to the Karabaş Kilise is not purely coincidental, but offers an acceptable terminus.

Of course, in the wake of the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilise we find the nearby paintings of the Karağedik Kilise between İrhala and Belisırma, which are only preserved in a very fragmentary state. There, judging by the identical way in which the inscriptions have been put on¹²⁵ and the use made of the same binding media and of almost the same motifs in the internal drawing, the work was done by the same master, or at least the same school.

Another set of paintings belonging to this group of latecomers is the Gospel cycle from the Pentecost Church, or Church of the Apostles, beside Sinassos, the earliest parts of which, the Deesis in the apse and the Pentecost Feast in the northern vestibule, no doubt came into existence away back around the year 900. In the Gospel cycle we not only encounter the elongated and exaggerated proportions used in the middle of the 10th century, but also hard and well defined lights, applied geometrically in the form of lozenges, rectangles, triangles and blobs, and the herring-bone style first observed in Tokalı II, with the lights teased out into a great many narrow strokes. In view of the greater

elasticity in the use of motifs in this work and the various influences coming from different quarters a date at the end of the 10th century would be appropriate.

LATE MACEDONIAN AND EARLY COMNENE FRESCOES

When we come to the 11th century paintings in Cappadocia we are for the first time in the fortunate position of finding that, out of the six important cycles produced in that century, three are dated by inscriptions. Two of these inscriptions, from the Direkli Kilise beside Belisırma and the Chapel of St. Barbara in Soğanlı, name Basil II (976—1025) and his brother Constantine VIII (until 1028). In the case of the Direkli Kilise we cannot be more precise than that owing to the poor state of preservation of the inscription, which means that the exact date is no longer legible, and there are no old and complete copies of it. In the Church of St. Barbara the left half of the inscription has been completely wiped off and obliterated, but older readings are available and they unanimously¹²⁶ indicate the cosmic year 65 . . and a 4th indiction. This can only mean 1006 or 1021 by our reckoning. Which of the two possible dates we shall decide on will depend on the style of the paintings. The third dedicatory inscription from the 11th century, in the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı dere, names Constantine X Ducas as Emperor and mentions the year 1060/61.

These more or less exactly dated inscriptions give us a good chronological basis on which to classify the paintings. So we are able to move with greater confidence in the 11th century than in the 9th or 10th, in which only one monument, Çavuşin, is reliably dated by an inscription referring to Nicephorus Phocas (963—969).

The Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere is the first definitely established representative of a new painting style in Cappadocia. We had a foretaste of some of its features here and there in the frescoes of Çavuşin and Tokalı IV in the second half of the 10th century. We came across others in the group of latecomers, which must extend into the middle part of the 11th century, although it is mainly attached to the style of painting used shortly after the middle of the 10th century. It is in the Church of St. Barbara that we see the most marked signs of the various elements surviving from the Main Macedonian period being replaced by these new features. It cannot therefore merely be tagged on to the Macedonian paintings of the main period, i. e., from the second half of the 10th century. These completely new features include, in particular, the type of face, which also reflects the character of the person depicted, and also the colouring. They really come into their own in the second half of the 11th century and actually determine what is produced subsequently in the 12th century to a very considerable extent. These features are so new that a spontaneous break occurs here between Macedonian art of the main period and Late Macedonian art, but the Late Macedonian leads on almost imperceptibly into Early Comnene art, i. e., into the second half of the 11th century.

In the Church of St. Barbara the frieze arrangement of pictures in a row has been abandoned completely for the first time. Attempts to do this had been evident for many years. Even in the pictorial cycle in the Kılıçlar Kilise (Chapel 29 in Göreme) the architectural features of the cross-domed church made a break in the picture strips essential. At Çavuşin and in Tokalı IV, in spite of the barrel vault and the frieze arrangement, divisions in the composition and distribution could be detected. In the Church of St. Barbara the final step is taken and the barrel vault is divided into an eastern and a western half by a transversal arch which is decorated with icons of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus hanging on painted nails. These halves are in turn subdivided into two quarters by bands, each with three Prophet medallions at the apex. The four areas thus created are each filled with a picture treated as a compositional whole and only in two cases including two scenes that really belong logically together (the Annunciation and the Visitation; the Proof of the Virgin and Joseph Acknowledging Mary¹²⁷). Inside these large pictures, which occupy all the available space, the narrative system of putting the items one after another in a row has been superseded by what is largely a monumental composition. The basic features of this were worked out at Çavuşin away back around the year 965.

✓ In the Anastasis three different pictorial planes are presented together. We see Adam and Eve in the foreground, with Christ in the mandorla coming behind and, as the main actor, dominating the entire scene; then David and Solomon and the dead rising from their graves form a kind of background with the mandorla cutting across them. There is also differentiation in size, going right down from the main figure of Christ treading upon the fettered Hades to the "extras" in the graves. Colour also plays a part in this grading process. Adam, the frontmost figure, is painted in yellow, grey and white. The background figures are in dark ochre and purple, whilst Christ in the gleaming red mandorla provides a combination of both dark and bright colours. The tiered arrangement of the dead in the graves, with the pair who have already climbed out and David and Solomon at the top, also fits into this composition pattern. This is nothing new. We actually find an example of it in the picture of the Entry into Jerusalem at El Nazar, which is in turn modelled on the Paris Damascenus manuscript from the 9th century¹²⁸. Of course, these principles of composition cannot be applied equally well to all pictures or scenes, or with the same visual success always. Certain limits are imposed by iconography, often canonical. But even then a composition involving the optimum use of space is achieved by differentiation of size and by setting individual figures higher up or lower down and throwing the picture into relief by means of architectural backgrounds.

The proportions of the figures are still to a large extent slender and steep and the legs are extremely long. This harks back to the leading works of the second half of the 10th century to which we have referred so often, but the drawing has in the meantime lost a fair amount of its realism and precision. The activities of standing and movement are not given their full spatial value, but are rather indeterminate and are concealed by the

draperies. This leads to a certain slurring of the outline and the drawing, which occasionally results in weak and almost indefinite postures.

Individual features of the internal drawing have deteriorated somewhat in quality. The drawing has become bolder, cruder and sometimes even clumsier. Rigid formalism is once more in control. A vast repertoire of formalised lights, lines and masses is spread out before us, ranging from large connecting motifs to small claw marks, hooks and dots. Each of these "phrases" quoted from the past is punctuated by surrounding shadow lines and so the whole figure is subdivided and broken up into compartments. These are seldom connected in a natural way with one another or follow on from one another, but are often strung together illogically (the left foot of the kneeling Adam in the Anastasis) or start off with fairly large motifs which become split up into smaller and smaller pieces (the shin of Christ's weight-bearing leg).

As a result of the outline and the internal drawing, the figures occupy a curiously indeterminate middle position between a flat graphical style and one that is uncontrollably bloated. This often makes a garment bulge out or simply hang down, but nowhere do we see a round, natural figure, as we did only a few decades previously at Çavuşin.

The faces are defined not by formalistic devices, but according to type. The heads of women and especially of Madonnas are small and delicately girlish in relation to the long, steep bodies — a type we encountered at Çavuşin. We also have the austere handsome faces of young men (Angel from the Annunciation scene, Solomon from the Anastasis) and the noble, solemn heads of old men. But in all cases we find a completely new and plastically rounded style which makes very sparing use of graphical devices, restricts the drawing to the necessary minimum and relies on the outline and on soft expanses of colour. Here at least we are keenly aware of a new metropolitan model approaching the Basil II Menology in the Vatican¹²⁹, but already marking a transition towards the ideal of the Paris Chrysostom manuscript of Nicephorus Botaneiates¹³⁰.

The general colour effect and the principles governing the use and distribution of colour have changed. The bright, gleaming tones dominant in all the painting until now have not actually disappeared, but some of them have become darker. This applies in particular to the grey of the ground. In addition, we have dark ochre and purple hues which have on the whole shifted the entire colour scale in the direction of full, rich tones. Only one tone is omitted and that is bright green; this may be a characteristic feature.

The darker colours of the Church of St. Barbara do not appear to be due, as might have been feared, to subsequent darkening caused by changes in colouring pigments or unsuitable binding media, as white and brightly luminous colours like yellow and red are not affected. So the present colour effect is probably correct on the whole and would have been intended to be like this originally.

Another important point is the different way in which colour is used to build up the composition of the picture. In the paintings of the 9th and 10th centuries, arranged in rows, colours were used side by side alternately. The colour rhythms might show a single

pattern of alternation (a-b-a-b-a-b) or a double one (a-a-b-b-a-a). Later on, especially in the second half of the 10th century (at Çavuşin), more complicated rhythms made their appearance and there were larger groupings, perhaps reaching a crescendo in the middle (a-b-a-a-b-a) or with the main accentuation at the sides (a-a-b-a-b-b). Now that rows of paintings have been discontinued, these rhythmical patterns are, of course, impracticable. Instead of this the colouring is used, just as in the composition pattern, to differentiate between the main figures and the "extras" and between the foreground and the background. We have already referred briefly to this. The brightest colours are used in the foreground, the most luminous ones in the middle distance, where the leading actor stands, and the dark ones towards the back.

In spite of this new type of composition from the point of view of the picture and the colours, which can no doubt be traced back, as a rule, to metropolitan ideas, we are struck by the fact that book illumination offers so few close parallels to the style used in the Church of St. Barbara. In particular, there hardly appear to be any direct links with the group of the Basil II Menology, which had such a decisive influence during that period and has been dated to the first decade of the Emperor's reign (around 980)¹³¹. The linear drawing style used in the Church of St. Barbara with all its crumpled looking subdivisions is derived rather from older models, for example, the Athens Chrysostom manuscript¹³² and related material. This means that the large general lines of development of metropolitan painting have been followed, but in details of execution and delineation the painter has adhered strictly to local traditions moving along lines of their own, although running parallel to the route taken by the capital. The existence of cross connections is shown by the ornamentation. Here for the first time features of the fretwork style have been adopted and occasionally the petal style. But we certainly cannot find such a close connection with the painting of the capital as in the Kılıçlar Kilise. The models of the 10th century (proportioning of the figures and drawing) and the 11th century (composition, colour and facial types) can be picked out here and reveal the hand of a provincial master.

For all these reasons I am selecting the later of the two possible dates 1006 and 1021 indicated by the inscription. Jerphanion decided in favour of the earlier one without giving any plausible reason¹³³, but he probably felt obliged to put the cross-domed churches of Çarıklı and Elmalı and the Karanlık Kilise into the 11th century too, as it was hardly conceivable that three large churches could have been so lavishly decorated after the defeat of the Byzantine army at Manzikert in 1071 by the Seljuk Turks, as a result of which the country became lost to the Byzantines.

We must base ourselves on this dating assessment if we want to place the paintings in the Direkli Kilise beside Belisırma in the Peristrema valley in the reign of the Emperor Basil II and his brother Constantine, mentioned in the inscription, from 970 to 1025. We can see at once that the painter of the Deesis in the Direkli Kilise, in his use of lights which evolved out of the colouring tone and are masked and softly blended into one another — in complete contrast to the graphically hard white light devices in the Church of St. Barbara

— leaned much more on the metropolitan painting of that period than the master in the Church of St. Barbara. We can compare John Prodromos with Samuel from the Anointing of David in the Basil II Psalter in Venice¹³⁴. Only in the medallions of the Prophets on the apse arch do we find pure white lines of light applied in a hard, sharp manner as in the Church of St. Barbara. This may have been the work of a journeyman following the local tradition. Of course, we also find the 10th century proportions perpetuated in the lower cylindrical portion of the apse in the elongated and almost columnar figures of the Saints on the right and left of the Madonna.

Owing to the similarity to the Marciana Psalter a date before 1020 would hardly be possible for the Direkli Kilise. Theoretically, of course, the Vatican Menology¹³⁵ might have had some effect on it, but we have to allow for a time lag before the metropolitan influences gradually made themselves felt.

The third of the churches dated by their inscriptions is the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlıdere. The dedicatory inscription, here preserved in entirety, mentions the year 1060/61. So, in spite of their rather doubtful state of preservation, the paintings here, together with the overpainting, occupy a vital key position within the overall system of dating and development of the Cappadocian frescoes. Jerphanion used them as a terminus ante quem for the group of three cross-domed churches, i. e., the Çarıklı, the Elmalı and the Karanlık Kilise¹³⁶. In the Karabaş Kilise he also detected for the first time a strong iconographical influence emanating from Constantinople and looked upon earlier types of pictures as being "archaic" and so Syrian and Oriental in character. These theories need further examination, but we must just point out that the one referring to Oriental iconography is rather doubtful¹³⁷. If we look at the painting from the point of view of style and the history of art, the opinions and conclusions we arrive at will be very different, as we have already seen.

As we have said, Jerphanion made the great division here, at the Karabaş Kilise, between his two groups, i. e., between the "Archaic" Group and the group of cross-domed churches influenced by the capital. From the point of view of style we cannot see the deep gulf here that Jerphanion found between the works of the first half of the 11th century, which we have just described, and those coming after and dating from the second half of that century. The first half of the century no doubt represented a kind of hiatus before the advent of the Early Comnene paintings, but during that period all the essential characteristics of the new style were in the process of formation and were, so to speak, present in nuce. We do not therefore think it is correct to split this period up into different chapters, in spite of the fact that a great deal has been taken over from the style of the Main Macedonian period and incorporated into the two Late Macedonian works.]

In the paintings of the Karabaş Kilise a number of stylistic peculiarities carried over from the second half of the 10th century finally disappear. The most striking point to note here is a departure from the practice of creating elongated figures. All the figures

have now been restored to their normal dimensions and give, if anything, an impression of squatness. There is no longer an artificial convention of slenderness. They have become broad and plump and often actually hump-backed. All this is bound up with a new feeling for plastic form. The human figure is no longer considered as being slender and columnar and perhaps contorted, but as a mass of flesh, body and drapery, rather unintelligible from an organic point of view. Certain appropriate parts of the body are particularly emphasised and almost exaggerated, for example, the arch formed by the shoulders and the pelvic and seat area. Plastic art has turned from a slender moulded shape to one that is plump and fleshy. The contours accordingly flow softly together in a relaxed manner, becoming almost inorganic. People's actions are therefore no longer completely obvious. They have been blurred in a mass of flesh and movement has been weakened. As a result, the weight-bearing leg and the other one are not clearly indicated.

The internal drawing has also changed considerably. Instead of graphically hard lines and dots we have soft masses of light. Only towards the edges do they break up into concentric lines to form an encircling frame. This leads to the creation of demarcated areas, which gradually prepare the way for the shadowy surrounding folds. These methods combine to produce lumpy areas of light and confer upon everything rounded summits and folds or furrows, i. e., some degree of plasticity, which makes the pictorial surface of the figures look like the shell of a tortoise. This is one of the factors responsible for the bloated, or rather, lumpy inorganic appearance of these moulded figures when they are viewed as a whole.

Similar tendencies are evident in the faces. The often sombre countenances can have a really morose expression. The not particularly large and at times button-like goggle eyes, rather like those of a frog, and the small pursed mouth, often concealed under a beard that is combed downwards like a seal's whiskers, accentuate the solemn dourness of their gaze. The progressive process of subdivision has also spread to the individual parts of the face. Foreheads have become small and domed, the cheek bones stand out like bosses and the chin and mouth area is thrust forward, round as a ball. So in the face too we find the contrasting plasticity of individual and, in fact, subordinate parts gaining ground at the expense of the overall picture. Individual examples of this can occasionally be observed in the faces of the Vatican Menology¹³⁸ or the Matthew from an Oxford evangelist¹³⁹, i. e., in the late 10th century, but they go on into the 11th century, as seen, for instance, in another Matthew, once again from an Oxford manuscript¹⁴⁰. Further examples could be given.

In spite of the style we have just described, which is characteristic of the period around or shortly after the middle of the 11th century, and in spite of the date 1060/61, clearly given in the dedicatory inscription, we have some difficulty in dating the Karabaş Kilise owing to a variety of technical and colouristic findings. The inscription is not on the same plaster layer as the Gospel scenes on the barrel vault that have just been described, but belongs to layer III, which covers the walls and niches of the chapel with fresh plaster

and does not penetrate into the barrel vault at any point. Only on the entrance wall on the west side, at the very place where the inscription occurs, does it extend on to the cornice separating the wall and the barrel vault, whilst on the north and south wall it runs out along the bottom edge of this separating cornice. So the date 1060/61 mentioned in the inscription applies only to the paintings on the walls and in the niches situated under the cornice, which are, unfortunately, completely unrecognisable because of blackening and the scribbles of visitors. Moreover, layer II with the Gospel scenes on the barrel vault (which is, in turn, situated on top of the original vault painting, probably dating from the 10th century and with a cycle in four tiers) is from the point of view of colour very far removed from layer III, which bears the Saints, the donor figures and the inscription. The latter has been blackened almost beyond recognition, whereas in layer II only certain parts have darkened to any extent. Others, especially the bright parts of the painting, have retained their pristine freshness. There is no easy explanation for the very great difference in their condition.

Bearing in mind the uniform appearance it has at the present time, the painting on the walls and in the niches below the main cornice must have all been done by the same method. The uniform degree of blackening leads us to conclude that the paint layer has absorbed more than the customary amount of dirt and soot. This is only possible if the lime skin did not set in the normal way and the paint tended somehow to attract and retain dirt. This is what generally happens to wall paintings if poor or completely unsuitable binding media are used on dry lime plaster. There is a wide selection of such binding media or additives, ranging from honey to size. As a rule, one suspects the presence of the latter. It takes up moisture from the atmosphere (especially in winter) and so swells and makes the layer of colour sticky. In this condition soot and dirt tend to adhere to it (fungus may also form) and when it dries in summer they become firmly attached to the colouring.

In the Gospel scenes on the barrel vault, however, the method was not uniform. All the dark colours, also the heads and the nimbi, must have been applied in a different way from the bright colours. The latter have not altered, but the dark ones have darkened still further. The bright colours must therefore have been applied by the lime or at least the casein method, with the result that a skin formed, thus largely eliminating the possibility of any change occurring. The remainder were executed in all probability by a method similar to that used for the walls.

The conclusions arising out of all this are as follows:

1. The painting on the walls and in the niches under the cornice is on a homogeneous plaster layer. The method used, probably involving size, is uniform. The inscription appears on the same plaster layer and the donors mentioned in the inscription are also depicted on it. The date indicated, 1060/61, can be regarded as applying to this part of the paintwork in the Karabaş Kilise. But we are prevented from analysing the style and

classifying the clearly dated decoration because of the deplorable state of preservation of this particular portion.

2. The Gospel scenes on the barrel vault, which from a technical point of view show overlapping by plaster layer III on the lower side of the cornice, were executed before the paintings of layer III on the walls and in the niches, at least as far as the complete painting process is concerned. Owing to the mixture of methods used (lime and size painting), there is even reason to suppose that these scenes may not have been included in the same painting operation as the work done in the lower parts of the chapel, which are uniform in this respect, but may have come into existence some time before the latter. The differences in quality of these two parts — as far as we can judge in spite of the severe ravages below the cornice — also appear to point in this direction. On the other hand, the style of the vault painting, as described above, prevents us from placing it before the middle of the 11th century.

It would therefore appear that the painting of the Karabaş Kilise began around 1050 with the Gospel scenes on the barrel vault. About ten years later the lower parts of the decoration were completed by a rather less competent master, who used throughout the size colouring method already employed for part of the painting on the vault. The dedicatory inscription on the cornice over the west door refers to this¹⁴¹.

But our major chronological problem in the Karabaş Kilise arises from the painting of the Communion of the Apostles in the apse. Here three different painting techniques appear to have been used. The first, probably a lime or perhaps a casein technique, is to be found in the robes of the first, second and fourth Apostles from the left and the first from the extreme right. In the conception, execution and method of applying the colouring they are in keeping with a series of figures with bright robes in layer II on the barrel vault. In the second method, mainly to be seen in the second Apostle on the right of Christ, full, dark tones are used. Organic binding media such as size or similar materials might have been employed, but a casein technique is not completely ruled out. The delicate orange colouring of the nimbus and the flesh tint of the face, subtly toned down with green and red ochre, have been completely preserved and have hardly changed at all in the course of time. They are not to be seen in any of the other Apostles, who all have the same dark and subdued head colouring as we see in layer II of the barrel vault. But a great number of drawing peculiarities are common to both. And the head in question also stands out from the line of other heads owing to its high quality. The head most comparable with it is that of Peter from the Metamorphosis on the west lunette over the entrance door. All the rest are cruder and more schematic. The high, domed forehead of our Apostle in the apse with its sculptured effect, his fleshy nose and the divisions between the individual "storeys" of his face, with the central point of the compass at the top of his nose, almost suggest that a master trained on metropolitan paintings of the second half of the 14th century was responsible. Some hints of this "pre-Palaeologue" style can indeed be found in the 11th century¹⁴².

The three remaining largish cycles of the 11th century, which cannot be pinned down by means of dated inscriptions, are easier to classify after all the thought we have given to the development of painting style in Cappadocia.

The Kuşluk of Kılıçlar (Chapel 33 in Göreme) comes first. The pure lime technique used in the painting and also the ornamentation, which has been taken over completely from the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere down to the last detail, lead us to suspect a date in the first half of the 11th century. The stylistic findings support this theory. The slender and excessively tall figures perpetuate the laws of proportion of the second half of the 10th century. But we can also see features clearly pointing to the 11th century. For example, the almost completely symmetrical formation of the lower part of the body of the Virgin Hodegetria in the middle of the large west lunette from the point of view of fold treatment and position of the feet has its nearest counterpart in a marble relief of the Madonna in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul¹⁴³ and its sister pieces¹⁴⁴.

The internal drawing of all the figures is still done graphically with the use of broad lines. Masses of light such as we find in the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı are not yet possible here, apart from a few broadish bars of slanting light with a stroke at the beginning and the end. These, however, clearly originate from the 10th century repertoire of shapes. Fan-shaped folds, albeit rather straight and wooden, are still common. Occasionally the plastic form of some part of the body, perhaps the shin of the non-weight-bearing leg, the bend of an elbow or an arched shoulder, is at least hinted at by a sprinkling of shadow lines. This restrained use of plastic effects is seen also in the faces with their pinky orange flesh tint, which is almost sweet and delicate in appearance and is only modified slightly by reddish glimmers in the cheek area. The colouring is strong on the whole and is more or less in keeping with what we find in the Church of St. Barbara. Here too the green that we were accustomed to see in the colour scale of the 9th and 10th century has disappeared. A strong grey-blue is used everywhere for the ground and from it the other local colours, a powerful, gleaming red, yellow, light and dark grey and purple, stand out clearly.

The paintings in the Kuşluk of Kılıçlar were certainly created before those in the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı dere. The date of the Church of St. Barbara (with whose frescoes they are connected — or perhaps they are actually based on them), 1006 or 1021, will decide the number of years we can play about with here in the dating. We consider the later of the two dates to be more appropriate for the Church of St. Barbara and this takes us to about 1030/40 for the Kuşluk paintings.

As for the frescoes in the Church of St. John, or the Saklı Kilise (Göreme, Chapel 2a), which were rediscovered in 1957 and were publicised for the first time by Budde, several dates, including two from Budde himself, have been suggested. In his first publication he gave the second half of the 10th century as the period of origin.¹⁴⁵ Three years later he must have had second thoughts, as he felt obliged to change to the ten years before or after 1000¹⁴⁶; this was perhaps due in part to the cautious suggestion made by Paul

Morau, mainly because of the inscriptions, that the probable period of origin extended from the middle of the 11th century to the beginning of the 13th. Swoboda put it among the series of paintings belonging to the second half of the 11th century and this appears to me to be just right.

The style used in the Church of St. John has been described as being particularly characteristic of the phase when the "archaic style of the earliest cave churches of Göreme" was coming to terms with the "steadily victorious advance of the court style of the capital city of Byzantium in the course of the early 11th century"¹⁴⁷. But we have found ourselves obliged to describe Cappadocian painting so far as involving a continuous process of coming to terms with the main stylistic trends of Constantinopolitan painting, although it always became noticeably more provincial towards the end of a phase. This leaves no room for the so-called "archaic" style and means that the characteristic features of the paintings in the Church of St. John have been assessed in a far too rough and ready way.

The figures are no longer excessively tall, but have normal bodily dimensions. A very high waist here and there shows, however, that the painter was accustomed to the preceding phase. There is no tightness in the outline. It is softly undulating and nowhere does it seem like a stiff corset holding the figure together, but instead gives it every chance to swell out into a round shape. This in itself has contributed towards a plastic effect. But this effect is only introduced rather hesitantly here and there because of the somewhat antiquated methods still largely in use — fan-shaped folds in the style of the 9th century and hatching to denote shadow, which was popular after the middle of the 10th century. However, these are no longer sharply delineated, but have been laid on with the sweeping, imprecise brush of a painter and they are not all the same length and are sometimes blurred. The workmanship has become haphazard on the whole. This may well result in striking touches of light and shade, placed rather impudently and just right, for example, in the picture of the young Saint on the flat roof in the west or on the face of the crucified Christ, but it also produces primitive monstrosities, as in the body of Christ. These attempts too are based on models from metropolitan painting of the middle and second half of the 11th century¹⁴⁸. Here in Cappadocia we are meeting this rather loose and undisciplined technique for the first time.

The internal drawing displays a knowledge of the features we saw in the Karabaş Kilise. Some parts of the body are divided up into compartments. Additional line-folds run round a patch of light, following its shape. This motif is very popular in the thigh and pelvis area and in the part going up from the knee to the lap. We can see this type of thing in the exceedingly odd anatomical picture of the upper part of Christ's body on the Cross, with the two circles at the shoulder and the oval formed by the abdominal muscles divided into four. But in this same nude body we find other parts, such as the arm muscles, that have been done excellently. So the "lumpiness" observed in the internal drawing of the Karabaş Kilise II is derived from the plastic interpretation of anatomy,

although here in the Church of St. John graphically harder touches are more common (upper arm of the Angel of the Annunciation and many other examples) than in the Karabaş Kilise, where we nearly always find a softly modelled effect.

The colour too is reminiscent of what has gone before. The tones are pure and gleaming. There is frequent use of green as a toning for the ground plane and as a local colour, but it did not appear in the Karabaş Kilise or the Church of St. Barbara. There is an absence of purple and dark ochre tones. The background is light grey and the technique is *secco*. Lime is used as the binding medium, but the colours are applied to dry plaster, which in the present instance consists merely of a thin coat of lime. Non-lime binding media do not appear to have been used as yet.

The wide range of possibilities evident in this painting, which combines all the aspirations of the period from about 950 to 1050 and makes use of them at will, naturally makes it difficult for us to fix a definite date. But we can hold on confidently to the latest features in it, which are connected with layer II in the Karabaş Kilise, i. e., with the Gospel scenes. It is more difficult to decide whether the Church of St. John represents a kind of preliminary stage coming before the Karabaş Kilise II, which we decided to put at around 1050, or is a work incorporating into the older repertoire of shapes and forms just a few features of the style used in the Karabaş Kilise, which came closer to the endeavours of metropolitan artists. The latter alternative would seem preferable, although this makes it impossible for us to give a more exact date than the second half of the 11th century, as the paintings contain so many older features that cannot be reconciled even with the style in vogue around 1020/30, which is represented by the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı. A far more problematical point is that a number of the peculiarities described here are to be seen again in the 13th century in the so-called Nicaea Group. But comparison with the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Söviş, from 1216/17, reveals the differences and may justify an early dating of the Church of St. John to the second half of the 11th century.

Although the painting is uniform down to the tiniest twirl in the lines of light and shade, there are quite considerable differences in quality, seen most clearly in two such similarly conceived figures as the Angel in the Annunciation scene and the Angel in the Calling of John the Baptist. A detailed comparison, stroke by stroke, leads us to conclude that the Angel from the Calling of John must be a journeyman's copy of the Angel of the Annunciation, which was certainly the work of the master. But we do not always find it so easy to separate the parts done by the two painters.

Closely related to this type of painting are the pictures from Chapel 28 in Göreme. Compare the naked form of St. Onuphrius with the crucified Christ in the Church of St. John. A related workshop was surely responsible for this and a master from it was also employed in Chapel 21 in Göreme. This entire group of the Kılıçlar Kuşluk (Chapel 33), Chapel 21 and Chapel 28 is so closely interrelated also by reason of the rather unusual painting technique, using only a thin coat of lime, that we are obliged to put

them all together within a relatively restricted period of time amounting to about thirty to forty years.

The painting in the triple-conch church, or Triconch, beside Tağar is the last great work of the 11th century in Cappadocia. The imposing architectural paraphernalia of the church with galleries in the central area under the cupola and its enormous size, considering that it is a cave church (comparable only with the dimensions of the extended Tokalı Kilise), show that we are dealing here with a monument of great prominence and importance. The cycle, set out on a grand scale and monumental in every respect, has remained unfinished. The projected west arm of the church with three aisles was never hewn out completely and has not been painted.

In the literature published so far the paintings have been assessed in a variety of ways, quite apart from the dating. Only Jerphanion and Madame Lafontaine-Dosogne gave their verdict after inspection. Jerphanion acknowledged that the painter had a sure, light and elegant touch¹⁴⁹. But he would not commit himself further, although at the start he mentioned the importance of the paintings¹⁵⁰, which seemed to him to be mainly iconographical. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne spoke of the charm of the painting¹⁵¹ and Swoboda compared it with the new Tokalı, but said that it probably never achieved the same quality¹⁵². The "obviously considerable overpainting" was stressed and there was apparently a suspicion that this had made the original quality of the painting worse rather than better, although Jerphanion admitted that the "restorer" had a "talent plus délicat"¹⁵³. In the Catalogue I have investigated thoroughly the alleged restoration of this painting. The few clues presented by the north frieze with the Gospel scenes lead us merely to conclude that work on the two scenes already begun (going from the left, the Nativity and the Crucifixion) was broken off before they were completed, the composition was altered by another master, the third scene (the Annunciation) was added and the entire frieze was completed in the form in which it stands to-day. All discrepancies are to be put down to the part played by different workshops and their masters, who joined forces here in this large expanse of painting.

This naturally accounts for the stylistic differences in the individual parts. These are not only based on different models as far as the setting out, the composition and the style are concerned, but were done by different methods and in a completely different colour scale. We have explained this in the Catalogue.

The painter of the three Gospel scenes is the one most strongly attached to tradition, especially in the colouring, but not only in that respect. On the frieze the pictures of the Annunciation (on the right) and the Nativity (on the left) are turned outwards and have been grouped as individual festival pictures round the central Crucifixion scene, i. e., there has been a conscious deviation from the historical sequence of scenes. We had a foretaste of this in the Church of St. John (Chapel 2a in Göreme), but this is the first time that it has been clearly done within the framework of a coherent frieze sequence. This treatment is quite new — which is more than can be said of the colouring. With its

bright pale grey background and green ground plane and, above all, the delicate green used as the local colour for the robe (of the Angel of the Annunciation) it is very much in the tradition of the 10th century and of the group of late works from the first half of the 11th century which still remained connected with it. From this point of view the painter of the Gospel scenes at Tağar actually comes at the end of that group, although the palette used in the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere is already evident here with its muted purple and gleaming red hues. The Gospel scenes master at Tağar knew both types and used them.

The same can be said of the drawing technique. There are traditional presentations of the fan-shaped fold style and we find mementoes of the parallel fold style and also examples of the style which used broken light masses. All these sometimes occur within a single figure, for example, the Angel of the Annunciation, but, as they are presented sparingly and in a delicate and selective way, this gives the figure an astonishing degree of plasticity and great volume and power. The outline is not soft and shapeless, but is stretched out wide till it is almost taut. Soft swelling out in the knee area is avoided and even where the shoulders have been arched until they almost form a hump the outline is powerful enough to make the action of the arm with the outstretched hand credible and meaningful, although it is not organically correct.

This is an attempt not only to make the body appear round, as the painter of Çavuşin did away back around 965, but also to give it tautness, action and volume — which is something quite new. Strange to relate, this is not achieved by new methods, but by the eclectic cultivation and adaptation of old and traditional devices — a characteristic sign that we have reached the extreme limits of this late style. However, we also find other figures, such as the Madonna from the Annunciation and the subsidiary characters from the Crucifixion, which can be regarded as coming from the 10th century as far as setting out and conception are concerned, but in the manner of execution — especially the internal drawing with its bold brush lines — they are clearly modelled on the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere.

The best illustration of this complicated situation — and this naturally brings in dating problems as well — is the seated figure of Joseph in the Nativity. In conception, composition and drawing he is even in small details a copy of the Matthew on fol. 10v of a manuscript from the John Prodromos Monastery on Patmos, No. 72¹⁵⁴, except that he is facing round the other way. We must not take this as meaning that the painter at Tağar had this manuscript in front of him, but both figures were certainly created from the same model. This is one of the very rare cases where a book illumination and a wall painting have been produced from the same prototype. The Patmos codex in question may have come from Asia Minor as the nucleus of the library of the Monastery of St. John, founded from the Stylos Monastery in Latmos. Weitzmann assumed this from the ornamentation¹⁵⁵, which corresponds fairly closely to the Codex Auct. E II. 12, dated to the year 953, in the Bodleian Library in Oxford¹⁵⁶. But the position is quite different

as far as the pictures of the Evangelists in the Patmos manuscript are concerned. They were, as Weitzmann discovered, added by another hand — later on, I think. The comparison made by Weitzmann, suggesting that they were copies of the Stavronikita 43¹⁵⁷, certainly does apply to the composition and the arrangement, i.e., the subject matter, but not to the conception, style and drawing. The outline (sharply angled knee) is rather reminiscent of an Oxford codex from the period around 1100¹⁵⁸, whilst the internal drawing with its teased out bars of light also shows a connection with motifs in Chapel 16 and the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere. The suspicion that the Evangelist pictures in the Patmensis 72 were not merely created as late as the 11th century, but actually in Asia Minor and not in the capital city, is strengthened by this fact. Of course, here, as in the case of the Gospel scenes painter at Tağar, the influence of the 10th century is still very strong. And the facture of the faces with their refined colouring, built up from green shadows, then the flesh tint and bright lights applied as flecks in an almost Impressionistic manner, shows that the pictorial form of interpretation that we found in the capital city in the 10th century was only then, one hundred years later, superseding the established graphical approach of the draughtsman. We became aware of this in the Church of St. John (Chapel 2a in Göreme).

Looking at things from this angle, there is nothing to prevent us from dating the Gospel scenes at Tağar to the forties of the 11th century, if it were not for the Deesis painter, who was certainly working there at the same time and whose ornamental painting on the north conch runs through under the shaft of the Cross, which was put on top of it. He views the work as a painting and renounces almost entirely the rich store of 10th century forms and devices. In his conception of colour and in the internal drawing he shows a connection with the painting in the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere. Light grey and green are excluded from his palette. Only on ground planes is green applied over dark grey. Ochre, rusty red and purple are his favourite colours and with these he gives his compositions a muted earthy tonality. His flesh tint is built up only from ochre tones. The internal drawing, in which there is a balance between plain lines, series of short lines and masses which are no longer complete, but run out in sweeping strokes, can be regarded as a more consolidated version of the Karabaş type. We already had a foretaste of this in a few figures created by the Gospel scenes master (Mary from the Annunciation).

The modelling of faces, hands and hair is influenced by metropolitan trends, which left their finest mark on the face of the Archangel Michael in the John Chrysostom manuscript of Nicephorus Botaneiates in Paris¹⁵⁹, although the delicately refined colouring is no longer achieved here (the Gospel scenes painter did manage to master this) and the charm of the model has given way to a look of asceticism and weary solemnity in the face of the Angel at Tağar.

With the faces of the Deesis master of Tağar — as Swoboda said of the Parisinus

Coislin 79 — we find ourselves at the beginning of a new style which was to determine the character of painting in the 12th century.

From the point of view of drawing and plastic effect the painter of the Vision of Ezekiel on the south conch fulfils the aspirations of the Gospel scenes master in an even more grandiose manner. The body of Ezekiel is imbued with a kind of plastic vehemence. The internal drawing, which shows the artist to be superbly in command, presents a compendium of all the possibilities open to the draughtsman — the most delicate patterns of small lines, folds drawn in a hard and daring manner and running along in a great sweep and also refined light masses dispersing into a transparent glaze. Here the highest drawing ability is combined with a keen awareness of natural and active proportioning and posture and also an unusual feeling for plastic values. By combining all the painting possibilities of the 10th century with the feeling of the 11th this eclectic virtuoso style reaches its culmination here.

All these factors must be taken into account when we are trying to date Tağar with all its great variety of painting. Jerphanion, obsessed by 1071, the date of the Battle of Manzikert, placed Tağar in the middle of the 11th century, on a par with the three cross-domed churches, i. e., the Karanlık, Elmalı and Çarıklı Kilise, all of them coming before 1060/61, the date of origin of the Karabaş Kilise. After this, he thought, there was a great gap of about 150 years, when Cappadocia was under Seljuk domination. Jerphanion wrongly assumed¹⁶⁰ that artistic activity did not revive until later, when it came into the Nicaean Empire under the Lascarids. It has since been realised that the Battle of Manzikert did not put an end to the Greek inhabitants or their monasteries and churches inside the sphere of influence of the Seljuks. This gives us scope for a properly graded scheme of chronological events. Lafontaine-Dosogne and Swoboda have already taken advantage of this and have suggested for Tağar a date at the end of the 11th century or even in the early 12th century¹⁶¹. After what we have said about the style of the Gospel scenes master and the Ezekiel master we cannot, I feel, go as far as the 12th century. A date in the eighties of the 11th century would fit in with them and also with the new style beginning in the faces of the Deesis painter.

COMNENE AND LATE COMNENE FRESCOES

There has been a fairly wide difference of opinion in the past about the paintings in the three cross-domed churches in the valley of Göreme — Çarıklı, Elmalı and the Karanlık Kilise. Jerphanion¹⁶² moved them towards the middle of the 11th century. He thought that the Karabaş Kilise, probably mainly the painting below the cornice, provided a terminus ante quem for all three of them, especially the Karanlık Kilise. He was also fully aware of their connection with the frescoes of the triple-conch church of Tağar.

But the chronological conclusions he drew from this were all coloured by the events of 1071. In that year the Byzantine army under Romanus IV Diogenes (1068—1071, died 1072) suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Seljuk Turks at Manzikert, not far from Lake Van, and the Emperor himself was taken prisoner by the victorious Sultan Alp Arslan. Asia Minor was surrendered and Lycaonia and Cappadocia became the nucleus of the new Rum-Seljuk Empire. Jerphanion therefore concluded that cycles in which the influence of the capital was particularly evident could not have been created after that time. Ludwig Budde favoured that view some years ago¹⁶³, but the strong political, economic and cultural contacts existing between the Byzantines and the Seljuks and the tolerance shown by the Seljuk upper class, who were Moslems, towards Christian communities and settlements have since been recognised¹⁶⁴. Apparently unimpressed by Jerphanion's views on the conquest of Cappadocia by the Seljuks following the Battle of Manzikert, both J. Lafontaine-Dosogne and Swoboda dated the three cross-domed churches of Göreme to the 12th century¹⁶⁵. Some years ago I myself suggested that they should be put in the 15th/16th century owing to the often very mediocre quality and the mixture of widely differing models, and also because of the frescoes in the belfry of the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond (dated by an inscription to the year 1443)¹⁶⁶.

The position of the Kılıçlar Kilise (Göreme, Chapel 29) was particularly doubtful. It was regarded both by Jerphanion and Swoboda¹⁶⁷ as a kind of preliminary stage in the new style that started with the Karabaş Kilise about the middle of the 11th century (Jerphanion) or as an archaising prelude to the style of the 12th century (Swoboda). Thorough examination of the Kılıçlar frescoes (for the results please refer to the Catalogue) has, however, shown that large parts of the original painting were restored at a later date. Whether the stylistic arguments that induced Jerphanion and, in particular, Swoboda to suggest a late date for the Kılıçlar Kilise referred mainly to the restored or the unrestored parts we do not know. Jerphanion's verdict was based, above all, on the iconography, or, to be more precise, the distribution of the scenes. In this particular respect the Kılıçlar Kilise is old-fashioned compared with the three other cross-domed churches, e. g., in the placing of the Ascension scene on the main dome and the Prophetic Vision in the main apse and many other items which it would take too long to discuss in this book, where we are really dealing with the history of art and of style. But these are early features which suggest that the Kılıçlar Kilise should be placed not a short time before the three other cross-domed churches, but a long way in front of them. The century has been discussed in detail in the second chapter. This early dating stemmed from the realisation that the Kılıçlar Kilise paintings cannot be regarded as a provincial extension of the style of Çavuşin (around 965), but were actually fundamental to it, i. e., they are in a sense "more archaic" and more naive and direct in their conception¹⁶⁸. Comparison with book illumination has led us to attribute it to the second half of the 9th century.

We are left with only the three cross-domed churches actually situated inside the valley of Göreme: Çarıklı, Elmalı and the Karanlık Kilise. So we must examine their

style and confirm that they really do belong to the period from the middle to the end of the 12th century.

Study in the Catalogue of the ornamentation, painting technique and colouring in these three churches indicated that, contrary to current opinion so far¹⁶⁹, the Çarıklı Kilise should be put not at the end, but rather at the beginning of the group. This view is also supported by other points and arguments based on style, which, however, all lead up to allocation of the paintings to individual masters and the school or workshop connection existing between them. For example, the painter of the Çarıklı Kilise is so like the Gospel scenes painter in the Elmalı Kilise that we might even venture to say that they were one and the same person. Characteristic details in the linework, application of lights and drawing, when we compare the group of horses and the Magi in these two churches (i. e., the remnant that has survived at Elmalı), force us to assume this. Exactly the same thing applies to a number of other scenes and figures. I shall merely mention the Crucifixion and some Angel figures in the Ascension, the Baptism, the Calling of John Prodromos and the Crucifixion. We are struck by the fact that the drawing in the Elmalı Kilise appears to have become just a shade more economical and sometimes freer and here and there a little shakier. If this observation is correct, the Gospel scenes in the Elmalı Kilise should be regarded as being more advanced or as representing the style of the Çarıklı master in his old age. Compared with this, the painter of the Karanlık Kilise is harder and often more of a perfectionist, but also more given to the use of formal devices, which he anxiously copies, and nearly everything is conceived in a slightly flatter and more graphical manner. The freedom of brushwork of the painter, as opposed to the draughtsman, sometimes leaving spaces to be filled in, has disappeared. Compare the drawing of the Angels' wings in the Ascension scene, which has become nigglingly precise and almost pedantic at Karanlık. Rushed or clumsy work, often to be found in the Çarıklı and the Elmalı Kilise (compare the Kiss of Judas scene), is eliminated as far as possible. But this spoils the feeling of freshness which was still very evident at Elmalı. Inscriptions are no longer put up free hand — lines are scored on first. The colour scale in the Karanlık Kilise has not only become darker, but also narrower and is confined to dark brown, grey and steely blue to black. So we are justified in regarding the painter of the Karanlık Kilise as a traditionally minded pupil from the workshop of the Çarıklı master and therefore of the Gospel scenes master from Elmalı. This would mean that the Çarıklı and the Elmalı Kilise were separated by twenty to thirty years at most and that the Karanlık Kilise should perhaps be placed another twenty years or so after the Elmalı Kilise. The three churches together would therefore be spread out over a period of at most about half a century. The interval between the Çarıklı and the Elmalı Kilise might be reduced to only about ten years, so in the extreme case the three churches might have come into existence within a period of barely thirty years. But we need a peg on which to hang our chronological scheme and in this we must be guided by individual features in the paintings.

In composition the master of the Çarıklı Kilise is guilty of all kinds of ineptitudes. For

example, he does not think twice about using the entire picture area over an arch (cf. the Betrayal by Judas), whereas the Karanlık master surrounds the area with a straight line, even at the bottom, and fills the two remaining spandrels with ornaments. This too is, I feel, an argument in favour of the sequence: Çarıklı, Elmalı, Karanlık! The same principle is followed in the Elmalı Kilise, but there is not such indiscriminate commandeering of the spandrels for the picture as at Çarıklı, where marginal figures, for example, the old man holding the *lettre de cachet* for Christ, are extended right down into the spandrel, with the result here that Judas, who is standing in front of him and embracing Christ, has one leg, the non-weight-bearing one, suspended in the air before him. Also we occasionally find tiny heads (once again Judas in the same scene) set on incredibly bulky bodies. Fleshy shoulders, wedge-shaped necks, with the upper part of the body made far too small, and bulging behinds can be seen. Alongside these we find figures like Christ from the same scene on the Mount of Olives who look almost dumpy, or at least have amazingly large heads. We saw this kind of thing, but in a more moderate form, in the Karabaş Kilise II, the only point being that it applied to every figure there, whereas it only crops up occasionally here. The complicated system of light and shade in the draperies and the formation of the folds cannot be described so easily as in the past, nor can they be traced back to a comparatively simple basic feature. There is a great deal more here and the internal structure in particular offers a variety of possibilities. There are still relics of the style used in the Church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı dere over a hundred years previously — i. e., teased out lines of light made into separate sections by strokes running round them (Peter in the Arrest scene). Other features recall the style of the Karabaş Kilise — large slabs of light fading away towards the edges and with lines of light and shade going round them, i. e., the familiar "lumpy" style. Much of the work is conceived in a completely pictorial manner, for example, the Evangelists on the dome pendentives and the holy figures in the Transfiguration. The nearest counterparts to this are to be found in the paintings of Evangelist No. 2645 in the National Library in Athens¹⁷⁰. The formation of the upper arm of Mark at Çarıklı corresponds almost entirely to that of Christ Blessing in the Athenian manuscript. The blob-shaped light incorporated into the bulging shoulder and, above all, the impression of draperies billowing out independently round the various parts of the body are strikingly similar.

The outline can no longer be described as being taut or softly rounded. It has been released from this classification and follows a new course. Sometimes it is undulating, then, for example below the knee, it becomes more restrained and plays round and circumscribes the figure, using hook shapes for emphasis.

Facial expression ranges from the wide-eyed astonishment of a young man to a hard and penetrating look from beneath eyebrows puckered in moody contemplation or the peevish look of an old man gazing into the distance. Recurring features in every face are noses with a fleshy rounded bridge, small mouths and, even in bald-headed men, as shown by the wrinkles, low foreheads, but otherwise adequately rounded crania. The

nearest prototypes include the head of John in an Oxford manuscript of the 11th century¹⁷¹. But, however well these features are sometimes presented, we must not forget that they were devised in the capital a long time before and in the last analysis go back to the Menology of the Emperor Basil II¹⁷² and the style used there. Not until this late date were these pioneering examples made use of in Cappadocia.

In the Çarıklı Kilise we can see for the first time a few isolated examples of an internal drawing motif (Christ in the Ascension scene) that was used to an ever increasing extent in the Elmalı and the Karanlık Kilise and was probably also based indirectly on the Vatican Menology. There is modelling by means of masses and lines of light and shade, aimed at creating a plastic effect, and right up against this we find metallically hard and graphical comb-lights which are completely flat. This is a reminder of the Macedonian style with its often parallel arrangements of little lines, but it cannot be regarded as an archaizing factor here, owing to the harsh contrasts and juxtaposition. It must have come mainly from other sources. This system was not, of course, invented in Asia Minor, but can be seen in a fully developed state in the Vatican Menology, for example, in the Angel in the Procession of the Magi¹⁷³. This was used especially for Christ with the Angels or for Mary, but in the Karanlık Kilise subsidiary figures, such as the emissary from the Sanhedrin accompanying the law officers in the Arrest of Christ, are given this drapery structure which was apparently reserved originally for more supernatural figures. This was probably taken over from the art of enamel which was flourishing in the 11th century. In cloisonné enamel these herring-bone subdivisions of the individual cells were often used as internal drawing. To do this, a number of perpendicular gold strips were soldered on to a support that served as the spine. Particularly delicate shimmering effects could be obtained from the enamel in this way. This principle was transferred to book illumination as early as the 11th century. The entire "style mignon" is based on these chrysographical effects, which do not really belong to painting at all. We cannot imagine icon painting without them. There they are applied in gold and seem absolutely appropriate. This technique has also been adopted in miniature mosaics¹⁷⁴ and even in monumental ones¹⁷⁵. The earliest examples of this in wall painting, as far as I know, are the Madonna and Child on the iconostasis and Christ in the Ascension scene in the Church of St. Sophia at Ochrid (middle of the 11th century)¹⁷⁶.

In the Elmalı Kilise (Göreme, Chapel 19) we come across this method more often than in the Çarıklı Kilise, where it was used mainly for the Christ Pantocrator on the main dome, the Angels in the middle and on the right in the Philokalia and nearly every Christ in the scenes. There was also a hint of it in one or two of the Apostles in the Ascension scene and in Peter from the Arrest of Christ. At Elmalı it extends to a number of other figures, mainly Prophets and Angels. This is most evident if we compare the two Mount of Olives scenes. At Elmalı almost the entire figure of Peter and also the figure of the emissary from the Sanhedrin, who is his opposite number on the right-hand side of the picture, are dominated by this particular device. If we look for examples of this point

alone in the two cycles we shall be in no doubt about Elmalı being the later. We have already tried to prove that it was a later work by the same master by comparing details of the "handwriting". The painting has become more flowing and "more accurate", i. e., the figures have been made more realistic. The treatment of folds is rather less powerful than in the Çarıklı Kilise. Light and shadow are softer and rounder and so a more plastic effect is obtained once again. Compare the two groups of Angels in the Baptism scene. In spite of all the various oddities, for example, the bulging behinds and the unnatural shortening of the upper parts of the body and so on, the figures at Çarıklı often appear unrealistically flat. This has been almost completely corrected at Elmalı. The position of the Angel on the right-hand side of the Baptism scene at the front, although not organically correct, is nevertheless clear and comprehensible. The leaning position of the upper part of the body and the traditional bending of the legs are well conveyed as far as drawing, light and shade and fold treatment are concerned. Powerful details, like the fold drawn downwards under the front knee of the Angel in the Çarıklı Baptism scene, together with the over-emphatic shadow outline, which give too much importance to the whole of the shin, have been considerably toned down at Elmalı and so blend better into the whole. Early instances of this are seen at Çarıklı, for example, in the shepherds hastening towards the Child and in the Evangelists on the dome spandrels. On the whole, the painter at Çarıklı seems to lean more on his models. Their good and bad points are reflected more directly in his work. At Elmalı they have been modified. The painter has avoided the errors and the harsh touches and it has all become his own work. But in spite of beautiful groups that have come out successfully — we think at once of the mourning Angels at the Crucifixion — and in spite of his ability to develop further, he remains firmly rooted in the normal tradition of the 11th century and is, in the final analysis, mediocre.

But the Gospel scenes master is not the only painter who worked in the Elmalı Kilise. Examination of the technical detail in the paintings (in the Catalogue) has definitely shown that a second hand was at work here. To that artist we must attribute in particular the busts of the Archangels on the domes, one or two figures of Saints on the dividing arches and the right-hand portion of the scene showing the Entry into Jerusalem. His most striking technical peculiarity is to break the dark contour and occasionally also the dark drawing with a light-coloured stroke or a scrape of his brush handle, going right down into the white lime. There is also one quite unusual and unorthodox device that will reveal his possibilities as a painter. This involves the harsh application of contrasting devices beside or on top of one another in such a way that they will have an effect on one another and become intermingled in the eye of the beholder, thus producing a kind of dual impression. This painter also had a number of other effective devices of this kind at his disposal. Fold structures are no longer worked out carefully, but are set down with rapid strokes of the brush, sometimes broad and sometimes sharp and close together or far apart, as the case may be. Other features remain almost at the stage of the preliminary sketch. A few smear marks to denote shadow plus the drawing are sufficient to produce

an optically plastic effect. This technique is reminiscent of Baroque sketches in oils, where a maximum optical and pictorial effect is achieved in an equally economical and reliable way.

Most of the work is, however, done perfectly, although never in an academically smooth or traditionalist way, but always with the verve of a true painter, with many strokes and smears of the brush, e. g., in the face of St. Probus, where an amazingly live and plastic effect is achieved and the facial expression seems far removed from the smoothness we see in the faces of the Gospel scenes master, which was a tradition of the 11th century. Even faces that come more into the traditional category, for example, those of the Archangels, which go back to the same type as the Michael figure at Tağar and so to metropolitan works of the second half of the 11th century, done in the manner of the Parisinus Coislin 79¹⁷⁷, have acquired a completely new characteristic. This results partly from the penetrating and almost goitrous look in the eyes and, in contrast to the charmingly smooth and academic and often non-committal faces of the Gospel scenes master, reveals an effort to express spiritual values and delve down into the psyche. His spherical heads with tightly stretched skin are quite different. This is due not only to a change in the proportioning (the centre of the head circumference has been moved from the upper half of the bridge of the nose right up to the top of the nose), but also to a difference in the plastic approach. The Gospel scenes master likes an elongated oval head put together or evolved almost organically from the individual parts of the face. These heads are undeniably connected with the strongly sculptured heads of the middle of the 11th century, "built up in storeys", such as we find, for example, in the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı dere. The second painter, or the Angel master as we have called him, starts out from a spherical geometrical shape constructed with a pair of compasses and the individual parts of the face are fitted into the bottom half of this.

The painting of the Gospel scenes master does not greatly assist us in arriving at a date for the Elmalı Kilise. This painting represents a continuation of 11th century style into the 12th century and cannot be pinned down to a more exact time, like nearly all styles that lag behind a main one. But we are helped by the new, harshly arresting and expressive style of the Angel master, who to some extent went along with the painting aims of the last third of the 12th century. A few features of the style of Kurbinovo¹⁷⁸ (around 1191) and related work¹⁷⁹, but not the Baroque extravagances of its linearistic composition, are reflected in the work of this painter. For example, the narrow and almost tense brush strokes on the garment of the boy standing in the front right-hand portion of the Entry into Jerusalem in the Elmalı Kilise correspond to the robe structure of Mary and Elizabeth in the Visitation scene at Kurbinovo. Comparable features are the ornamentation on the apse arch and in a whole series of small scroll details, some of them on drapery trimmings. But the most important thing seems to be the fundamental similarity seen in the direct and penetrating look on their faces. The Angel master at Elmalı must have been familiar with this expressive style dating from the last third of the 12th cen-

tury and introduced it here and there at Elmalı in a milder, toned down form into the usual type of painting with its echoes from the 11th century. But this means that we cannot put the paintings in the Elmalı Kilise before 1190 and, if we allow for the time lag in the provinces, this would actually take us up to the turn of the century. However, we should not go beyond 1216/17, as the style used by our Angel master was adopted and developed to some extent in the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste at Söviş.

The last of the three cross-domed churches in Göreme, the Karanlık Kilise (Göreme, Chapel 23), differs in more than one respect from the two we have discussed so far, the Çarıklı and the Elmalı Kilise. The most striking feature is the change in colouring. The light grey background still used at Çarıklı and Elmalı has been darkened to form a ray pattern in greyish black, which gives all the scenes a stormy atmosphere. This, together with the meagre illumination of the church interior by a small window in the narthex, which hardly allows a glimmer of light to penetrate into the naos, has given the church its name of Karanlık Kilise, i. e., Dark Church. But not only has the colour of the background become darker. The colour scale as a whole has contracted and includes only dark, earthy colours. No vivid colour is to be seen anywhere in the cycle. Every tone has become dull, even if its chromatic value has remained the same. That may not have been the painter's intention, but is perhaps due to the use of different kinds of binding media. But a chemical analysis of the colour layer will have to be made before any decision is reached on the subject. Reliable observation on the spot is impossible owing to the completely inadequate lighting conditions.

There are also differences in the iconographical programme. The change in the architectonic form of the church compared with Çarıklı and Elmalı has led to a change in the arrangement of the scenes. Here the narthex provides additional painting space. But the number of domes in the Karanlık Kilise has been reduced — to six, instead of the nine at Elmalı. Moreover, the wall arch areas for the Gospel scenes have become very much smaller and, above all, narrower, although the wall moulding has been ignored and the scenes have been taken down beyond it into the rectangular wall areas. In this alteration of the scene arrangement the Ascension picture has been taken out of the naos and put in the narthex. This gave the painter space in the wall arch areas of the north-eastern angle compartment and he filled it with the four Evangelists. Medallions with Apostle busts are in their traditional place, i. e., on the spandrels of the central dome. The Evangelists are shown as full-length figures sitting in pairs on the right and left of a desk. He appears to have used the models of the Çarıklı master and varied them to suit the new position. Owing to the narrower wall arch areas, he was often obliged to restrict the width of the scenes also, which usually meant reducing the number of subsidiary figures.

In other respects the Karanlık Kilise offers little that is new from the point of view of style. A striking feature is the more frequent use of a characteristic striding movement, with the walking leg crossed well over and twisting of the pelvis¹⁸⁰. When this is done contrastingly in two neighbouring figures, for example, in some of the Apostles in the

Ascension scene, an exceedingly artificial note is introduced into the entire composition. In the Adam of the Anastasis scene we also see for the first time in Cappadocian painting a motif that was in fairly general use elsewhere in the painting of the 12th century¹⁸¹ — the concave full profile shaped like a half-moon.

Apart from these peculiarities which degenerate into affectation and serve to reinforce the late dating of the Karanlık Kilise after Çarıklı and Elmalı, the Karanlık master shows himself to have been a faithful pupil and copier of the Çarıklı master, who, if our theory is correct, was none other than the Gospel scenes painter of the Elmalı Kilise. All that we can gather from this, as far as the dating is concerned, is that Karanlık came into existence at most one generation after Elmalı, which we have tried to place between 1190 and 1200. But I do not want to go as late as that, especially as Karanlık is not merely a continuation of the Elmalı Kilise, but of the Çarıklı Kilise as well. I therefore feel that a date between 1200 and 1210 would be appropriate.

The Church of the Forty Martyrs beside Söviş is dated by a dedicatory inscription to the cosmic year 6725, or 1216/17 by our reckoning. The same inscription also mentions the name of the church and this is confirmed by the portrayal of the Saints and their martyrdom, to which the whole of the north aisle is devoted.

In spite of the dark grey background and the very dark colours occasionally used, the painter here, in contrast to what was done in the Karanlık Kilise, has retained a wide colour scale which still contains bright colours. In addition to this a remarkable degree of luminosity has persisted in nearly all the tones. Yellow, green, red and orange are combined with rich dark purple and grey tones. The colouring to which artists had on the whole been accustomed since the 9th century, and which we last saw in Cappadocia towards the end of the 11th century (Chapel 2a in Göreme and the Gospel scenes master at Tağar), has been inserted into the dark colour key which was in current use from the middle of the 11th century since the Karabaş Kilise and was carried to extremes in the Karanlık Kilise (Chapel 23 in Göreme). There is often a striving after richly contrasting effects, sometimes built up on complementary colours. The monotonous dullness all too readily produced by dark purple is eliminated by the use of green, yellow and gleaming orange. An excellent example of this is the Annunciation scene, where on the Angel's wings and the robe of the Madonna (holding the orange-coloured spindle) a whole range of glowing yellow and orange strokes and dab marks are strewn over the dark local colour. A similar range of variation is evident once more in the flesh tint. The ochre-coloured glykasmós, modelled only slightly with light and dark shades, which had become generally established in Cappadocian painting since the Deesis painter of Tağar, is once again deepened in two different directions — into cool and warmer tones — by considerable use of green and red. In addition we also have white transparent coatings. With a painting method of this kind, which aims at a pictorial and at the same time a plastic effect, the drawing, slapped on in a reckless fashion, as in the nude bodies of the Forty Martyrs, can be reduced to the bare essentials. The internal drawing of the draperies combines a

coarse and flattened version of the "lumpy" style, which we saw in the Karabaş Kilise and the cross-domed churches of Göreme from the second half of the 12th century, with the dramatically expressive system of lines and strokes used by the Archangel master in the Elmalı Kilise and the comb style, which showed a steady increase from the Çarıklı to the Karanlık Kilise.

The work at Söviş appears therefore to be a combination of different styles, all more or less historical, undertaken with great forcefulness and the zest of a painter. The most recent item reproduced here at the beginning of the 13th century is the style of the last third of the 12th century, which is not merely responsible for the new intensity of, for example, the Archangel master in the Elmalı Kilise, but also for the hard, curving linearism in this Church of the Forty Martyrs beside Söviş. So it is quite right to regard this painting as representing a "decline, relapse and reversion to linear schematisation"¹⁸². In spite of this method, which goes back to "old" traditions, it is astonishing to see the enthusiasm and dedication of the painter at Söviş and how he made a break with the extremely insipid academic style of the second half of the 12th century (the Angel master in the Elmalı Kilise was an exception) and turned to what we may well refer to as better and, above all, more productive models from the point of view of painting and, in particular, colour. This gives the paintings at Söviş a charm and a value all their own, in spite of the hard and provincial, though not unskilful, presentation.

It is quite unnecessary to say that they could never have had any influence on the Palaeologue style, which was just beginning — a view held for a time by people who thought that archaic Oriental art had been introduced by monks¹⁸³. They attempted, above all, to bring forward iconographical arguments. Even this is deceptive. The portrayal of the Forty Martyrs clad only in loin cloths is indeed something new for Cappadocia, as until then they always wore a tunic and chlamys (Tokali IV and VI in Göreme, Chapel 7, and Çavuşin), but portrayal in the nude was, no doubt, usual in the capital from about 1000¹⁸⁴. This example may be taken as evidence that during every important phase Cappadocian painting can always be regarded as a derivative of metropolitan art. We do not see here a form of Syrian and Oriental art preserved independently alongside the Byzantine art of the capital, either as regards iconography or style. In all probability the iconographical peculiarities are not Cappadocian either in origin or idiom. They only appear to be so owing to the "optical" distortion caused by the immense gaps in the various relics that have been preserved and handed down.

The paintings of Söviş are the only pictorial work of any importance in the 13th century.

Connected with Söviş we have an uncompleted cycle in a small chapel beside Ortahisar (Cambazlı Kilise). This is shown by the composition, architecture, backgrounds and drawing and, above all, by the similar hard, broad sweep of the internal drawing. The painter of the Cambazlı Kilise might be a second painter working at Söviş, to whom the figure of the Prophet David in the west of the southern barrel vault is to be attributed.

Whether he worked at Söviş as a journeyman along with the master or after him, which is more likely, is an open question as the plaster has been partially disturbed in the rather reduced extension of the south aisle. But the painter of David cannot be identical with the main master at Söviş. He misses out the green shading in the flesh. On the other hand, he appears to have used cinnabar for cheeks and lips and this has turned black. And we can also observe white high-lighting drawn on his faces, which is quite alien to the main master. Apart from the use of cinnabar, we find similar features and routines in the David of the Cambazlı Kilise.

In the frescoes of the Karş Kilise beside Gülşehir, dated to 25th April 1212 by an inscription in the apse, we might have hoped to find a characteristic and intensely dramatic type of painting like that at Söviş, but this church, which Jerphanion gave up as lost and has since been found again, is disappointing in many respects. Apart from its deplorable state of preservation, probably due to a slovenly technique involving unsuitable binding media, the quality is primitive and redolent of the backwoods. There is nothing lively about it at all — in fact, it is in every respect a flat and primitive rehash of the style used in the cross-domed churches in Göreme.

The frescoes of the Kırk dam altı Kilise beside Belisirama, dated as belonging to the reigns of Andronicus II (1282—1328) and the Sultan Masut II of Konya (1282—1304), i. e., between 1282 and 1304, fit into this picture perfectly. Although they come at the end of the century, they do not advance in any way beyond the painting style of the beginning of the century. The Palaeologue style has had no impact here. The dishevelled hair of the Apostle Andrew is to be ascribed not to the style, but to the iconography of the Saint. We saw the same type of thing in the Ascension scene at Söviş. Were it not for the two inscriptions which separate the two sets of paintings by about seventy years, we would only put a short interval of time between them from a stylistic point of view.

We have come to the end of Cappadocian painting. Development remained at a standstill for a whole century. Wall painting virtually stopped after this. There is only the Last Judgement in the south aisle of the Canavar Kilise in Soğanlı dere, which is attributed by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne¹⁸⁵ to the 15th or 16th century. This dating must remain hypothetical. If we compare the painting in the south aisle of the Canavar Kilise with those in the Karş Kilise, we can find no definite arguments. They might just as well have been created in the 13th century.

Fresh activity does not appear to have started up until the beginning of the 18th century, under Baroque influence. There is definite evidence that the large Archangel Church at Sille near Konya was painted for the first time in 1708, with further painting operations in 1833 and 1880. In chapels to the north of Sinassos paintings were still being produced during the period of the First World War. They represent a mixture of Baroque and Nazarite art and are equivalent in quality to the icons produced at that time. This merely confirms that Byzantine wall painting in Cappadocia and Lycaonia came to an end in the 13th century.

THE PROVINCIAL GROUP UNDER ARMENIAN INFLUENCE

In our examination of wall painting in central Asia Minor we have left out a small group which differs from most of the cycles we have seen. Only a minority of them — the Chapel of St. Eustace, No. 11 in Göreme, the Tavşanlı Kilise and the Church of St. Theodore at Susum Bayırı near Ürgüp — were known to Jerphanion. The rest of them, all situated in the Peristrema valley beside İrhala at the foot of the Melendiz Dağ, have only been publicised in any detail in the last few years, in two papers by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne and the book by M. and Mme. Thierry¹⁸⁶. The exception here is the Yılanlı Kilise for which Hans Rott¹⁸⁷ supplied a description and a picture at an earlier date. Leaving out of account the primitive and rustic quality of these paintings, we find in them a number of features that can only be linked with difficulty and remotely and indirectly with the processes of development seen to emanate again and again from the capital city of Constantinople. Above all, it is generally impossible to date them within the framework of Byzantine art — or provincial Byzantine art, if the former merely refers to metropolitan work. This cannot merely be put down to poorer quality, as they occasionally contain stylistic motifs from Byzantine art that come up to the same quality. This at least gives an immediate clue to the date. An example occurs in the Chapel of St. Eustace, No. 11 in Göreme, and there are isolated instances in the Tavşanlı Kilise. For all these reasons I feel justified in separating them from the other paintings and studying them on their own. They do indeed come within the scope of this book on Byzantine wall painting and are not omitted like the Armenian frescoes away on the fringe of Asia Minor because they occur inside the central area of Byzantium and Asia Minor, side by side with genuinely Byzantine works, for example, those in the Sümbülü Kilise beside İrhala. Another reason is that, as we have mentioned, features of Byzantine style are occasionally blended in to a varying extent.

Complete agreement has not yet been reached as to the classification of this group. Jerphanion himself pointed to Armenian influence here and there, especially with regard to misspellings in the inscriptions¹⁸⁸. Nicole and Michel Thierry often refer in general terms to Oriental influence¹⁸⁹. However, when the Thierry book was actually being printed, Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne made the suggestion that the paintings of the İrhala group should be attributed to an Armenian colony. She did not merely put forward historical arguments in support of this, but was the first person to make comparisons with Armenian manuscripts¹⁹⁰. This is, I feel, the correct answer. But we have not simply called this chapter "The Armenian Group", as we want to include in it a small hybrid group, only one member of which, Chapel 11 in Göreme, is thought to have had Armenian painters or, at least, painters coming under the Armenian influence¹⁹¹.

No-one has yet disputed the idea that the Church of St. Theodore near Ürgüp is the oldest chapel in Cappadocia decorated with a figural cycle¹⁹². In the past the paintings were not properly examined. This is shown by the many errors throughout the relevant

literature regarding the state of preservation and alleged repainting. The Catalogue contains the necessary amendments.

The early dating, towards 900, suggested by Jerphanion and subsequently by L. Budde, was supported by K. M. Swoboda, who made a reference to the older pictures in the Job manuscript on Patmos¹⁹³. But this comparison is in no way convincing. The figures in the Church of St. Theodore are certainly "graphical and labile", but they are very far removed from those in the Patmos Job. The figures there are conceived in a true to life manner and the proportions are right. The weight-bearing leg and the other one are properly differentiated and, in combination with the turning of the head and the appropriate gesture, give the figure a due sense of balance. The outline going round the whole figure in a single sweep with small rises and depressions and the draperies modelled in keeping with the body make it quite impossible for us to establish any close relation between the two works.

The figures in the Church of St. Theodore either stand with legs wide apart (shepherds from the Nativity scene) or are suspended obliquely in the picture strip with a misconceived walking movement and the upper part of the body leaning backwards. In every case the outline is stiff and straight and unbroken, without any nuances. Both in the face and the draperies the internal drawing is really conceived as pure drawing and the painter does not aspire towards a pictorial or plastic effect. The gestures are certainly expressive, but they are stiff and unnatural and are confined to two or three set forms. The colouring, applied in masses and hardly modelled at all by the drawing, is mainly ochre, green and yellow and is absolutely in keeping with this general impression. The most fascinating aspect of this painting is the expressiveness of the faces. One head after another is drawn as a flat mass with the same few well memorised lines used again and again to connect them up. They have thick and very arched eyebrows joined with a thin stroke at the top of the nose, a small, almost cherry-shaped mouth and huge eyes with a look of staring amazement. Since the closing miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Evangeliar¹⁹⁴ such faces have been customary in Armenian painting¹⁹⁵. The club-feet of all the figures in the Church of St. Theodore also have their counterpart in an Armenian evangeliar of the 11th century¹⁹⁶ and the internal drawing of the painter in the Church of St. Theodore, bowdlerising the Byzantine drapery structures, corresponds exactly to what we find in the Evangeliar of Mugna¹⁹⁷. All these examples, however, take us about two and a half centuries beyond the period previously assumed to be the right one, i. e., to the years between 1000 and 1050. The attempt made here and there by the painter to copy the Cappadocian herring-bone style (for example, in Joseph from the Journey to Bethlehem), a style we encountered in the old Tokalı Kilise (II), also reveals a terminus post quem corresponding to 910/20.

In the far too lavish architectural backgrounds of Chapel 6a in Göreme, which we dated to about 930/40, we already saw the influence of the Evangeliar of Queen Milke¹⁹⁸ from the year 902 and the frescoes in the naos of the Chapel of St. Eustace, No. 11 in Göreme, have been dated by Jerphanion and Lafontaine-Dosogne to the first half of the

10th century. Jerphanion surmised that Armenian painters had been involved¹⁹⁹. This early dating is based merely on the supposedly definite date of the Tavşanlı Kilise, to whose paintings those in the Chapel of St. Eustace are related. As the inscription in the Tavşanlı Kilise need not necessarily refer to Constantine VII (912—959) — Constantine VIII (1025—1028) is also a possibility — we are once again obliged to refer to the style before giving a proper opinion on the subject.

The setting out of the figures in the frieze, the sense of balance, the gestures and even the fashioning of the heads and hair styles prove that Tavşanlı was a rustic copy of the old Tokalı Kilise (II). This means that the beginning of the 10th century is out of the question, as we have dated Tokalı II to around 910/20 and we must expect them to be separated by a certain interval of time. A clue is supplied by the more or less successful attempts of the Tavşanlı painter (e. g., in the ΑΕΓΟΝΤΑ Being in the Prophetic Vision in the apse) to copy the Byzantine herring-bone style with which we are familiar in wall painting in the Tokalı Kilise II and in book illumination in the Patmensis 70²⁰⁰. Both these factors take us on to the middle of the 10th century, i. e., probably into the final years of the reign of Constantine VII.

In spite of its connection with the Tavşanlı Kilise, there are a number of differences in Chapel 11 in Göreme. The smooth, roundish faces in the Tavşanlı Kilise have been superseded by elongated faces often running down into a point in Chapel 11. The small, peevishly pursed mouths, the large eyes and the pointed beards reveal a close relationship with the Evangelists in Manuscript No. 2 from the Dionysiu Monastery on Mount Athos²⁰¹ from the 10th century. The herring-bone and the parallel fold style of Tokalı are also copied in the Chapel of St. Eustace. But, in addition to this, we see pronounced lap folds and fan-shaped folds à la Çavuşin, which are also to be found in Dionysiu No. 2. These, I feel, are adequate reasons for putting the paintings in the Chapel of St. Eustace, No. 11, after those in the Tavşanlı Kilise, as Jerphanion did²⁰², because they are to some extent based on the style of Çavuşin (around 965)²⁰³. This would take us to the years around 970/80.

Another painting related to the Prophetic Vision in the Tavşanlı Kilise is one on the same subject in Chapel 3 in Gülü dere. Compare with the two Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel the fold style of the Evangelists from Codex No. 6 in the Leipzig University Library²⁰⁴. We can also make a successful cross-comparison with the very much better drawn Isaiah in the Pentecost Church to the north of Sinassos, which we have dated to around 900. So the apse decoration in Chapel 3 in Gülü dere may have been produced in the first half of the 10th century²⁰⁵.

The Irhala group, the most important cycles in which are those of the Eğri Taş Kilise, the Kokar and the Yılanlı Kilise, also the Pürenli Seki and the Ağaç altı Kilise, displays an even stronger and, above all, more provincial Armenian flavour. In the past a marked Coptic and Oriental influence was observed in the iconography²⁰⁶. This would take us back to the old theory that Cappadocia was influenced by Egypt and Syria, especially at

the beginning, after which Byzantine trends gradually prevailed, above all, in the 11th century. But in the whole course of our studies and investigations we have found the exact opposite to be the case as regards the painting style. To begin with, there appeared to be a painting style that was extremely close to the metropolitan style and in subsequent years, until the start of the 13th century, painters based themselves again and again to a greater or a lesser degree, or only in some features of their work, on the method of painting current in the capital at the time and on metropolitan aspirations. So even in the "Orientalisms" or rather the Armenian touches evident in the iconography and style of the Irhala group we can see, not an old provincial survival or an out-of-date enclave, but rather an overgrowth or, if we prefer to keep more closely to the historical facts, an influx of Armenian traditions into Cappadocia.

All this naturally has a marked effect on the dating of the paintings. If we think they are old Oriental survivals from the period before the Iconoclast Controversy, we must, of course, put them earlier. The datings of M. and Mme. Thierry hardly go beyond the year 900 and in the case of the Eğri Taş Kilise the date comes between the 7th and the 9th century. Assuming that this is not the case — which, historically speaking, is probably right (Gelzer, Jerphanion and Grégoire studied Armenian immigration in the 10th century and later²⁰⁷) — we cannot date these churches before the beginning of the Armenian immigration. In fact, we must allow for a certain period of settling down, as the inscriptions are all in Greek, even if the spelling is occasionally quite appalling. All that we can do by arguing in this way is to map out the large general framework for their chronological classification. If we want results that not only enable us to fix dates, but also reveal something of the true nature of this art, which is primitive even by comparison with the provincial work of Göreme, we must turn to the paintings themselves and to comparable manuscripts. We can make a preliminary grouping of these chapels from our first impressions and from the colouring. The Yılanlı and the Kokar Kilise are very closely related — they are, as it were, brother and sister. Then we have the Eğri Taş Kilise and the Pürenli Seki Kilise, which are slightly different and come into the category of cousins. A rather more distant relative is the Ağaç altı Kilise.

It is, in fact, the Ağaç altı Kilise that gives the impression of being the most ancient. Its lavish ornamentation covering entire areas of the vaulting like a tapestry with an endlessly repeating pattern, the general unconcern about the size of the individual motifs and their bold and sketchy execution naturally remind us of work from the 6th and 7th century. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne has already drawn attention to the broad uncial script used for the Prophets' names on the dome²⁰⁸. But we are struck by the rigid use of individual ornaments within the architectural structure in spite of the general diffuseness. This is particularly evident on the dome with its icons of the Prophets set between areas of ornament and also in the drum of the dome where the pilasters are painted in a plaited pattern and the painting of the corners makes the false trompe niches look deceptively like real ones. (We are not dealing here with true funnel-shaped trompes, but merely

with cut-off corners covered over with a stone slab, if we can use terms borrowed from ashlar building to describe this cave architecture.)

The figures are completely flat. The draperies are merely divided up by a system of broad parallel folds. The faces are, as a whole, full and round and sometimes actually have a broad oval shape, as in the figure of Mary from the Annunciation. They only appear elongated if they are extended downwards by a beard bent back into a point, as in the three Magi. Here in the inscriptions: + ΓΑΧΙΑΡ, ΒΑΑΤΑΡΑΡ, ΜΕΑΧΙΩΝ we are most clearly aware of the truly thin and pointed character of this often archaizing script, which tends to use steep and exceedingly long letters. We recall the writing in the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilise and that in Chapel 9 in Göreme. This takes us to the end of the 10th century at the earliest. The Magi with their pointed Persian caps and round whiskers in place of a full pointed beard appear once again — but this time there is one more of them — as the Watchers at the Tomb in an Armenian evangeliar from 1038 at Erivan²⁰⁹. Compare also the fold style and the colours of the miniatures in this evangeliar with those in the Ağaç altı Kilise. In their painting both appear to me to be a provincial derivative of the style used in the introductory miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Evangeliar of 989²¹⁰. We already have a foretaste there of the free sweeping parallel fold style used in our paintings, although it is still realistically done, and we also see the squarish oval head shape of the Madonna²¹¹. A preliminary version of the broad and naive painting of the ornament on the wing of our Angel of the Annunciation in the Ağaç altı Kilise can be seen on the cushion of the enthroned Madonna in the Etchmiadzin Evangeliar²¹². The bright colouring without any depth supplies another powerful argument. A few more decades may have passed before provincial disintegration of these forms took place. This is shown by the evangeliar of 1038. So it is difficult for us to place the style of the Ağaç altı Kilise before the beginning of the 11th century.

Owing to its bright and unrestricted colouring the Pürenli Seki Kilise would appear to be the next in order, chronologically. The painting method here no longer displays the broad monumental characteristics shown by the representational style of the Ağaç altı Kilise, but has become sketchy and narratory. So the painter has departed as far as possible from the parallel fold style and there is merely a line to give a sketchy indication of the main folds. As a result, the figures actually become more natural and alive. Here and there the weight-bearing leg and the other one are shown clearly, a knee becomes rounded and the figures come alive to some extent. The movements and proportions are not, of course, "correct" in the anatomical sense, but they do reveal that an effort has been made to tell a clear story with plenty of life and movement, which conveys a sense of realism and is sometimes expressed almost plastically in the figures. This is achieved merely by the skilful and economical use of sketchy lines in the internal drawing, usually just in the right place and arranged so as to divide the surfaces up well. High-lighting is not to be seen anywhere. Some of the Saints in the narthex appear to be an exception to this rule, but they are not. Here the white lines are merely put on both sides of a

broad line and combine with this to form an edging. Only here, where the artist wants to reproduce splendid, glittering patterns on cloth, does white appear at all. It is not used for drawing or modelling the figures or their draperies.

The closest parallel to this style in book illumination is to be found once again in the evangeliar of 1038 at Erivan, which we have already mentioned²¹³. In addition there is a manuscript in the Mekhitarist Monastery in Vienna that has already been compared by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne²¹⁴. From this point of view there is nothing to prevent us from dating it to the middle of the 11th century, but we must be careful because of a palaeographical point. The usual A-form occurring everywhere at Pürenli and also at Kokar and Yılanlı consists of a perpendicular stem with a loop on the left attached to the middle. In monumental lettering I have only found this A in current use after 1302²¹⁵. If we insist on this point, the inscriptions in question, together with the paintings, could not have been created till around 1300. But I feel that we have too narrow a basis for our reasoning. The palaeographical study of monument inscriptions has not advanced nearly far enough for us to be able to draw reliable conclusions from such isolated examples. Moreover, under the influence of Armenian writing, the A-form might be a stylisation of the letter à l'arménienne, which was gradually finding its way into Greek, as the Comnene types of writing were passing through a degenerative phase. This would, of course, have happened earliest in an Armenian colony, like Irhala itself. Until we are able to find out something more definite from a larger collection of material, I would rather give the main emphasis to the painting style and comparisons with dated manuscripts and preferably put down the Pürenli Seki Kilise as belonging to the middle or the second half of the 11th century.

The paintings in the Eğri Taş Kilise appear to me to be only slightly later. Indeed the rest of these intimately related paintings would probably come close together from a chronological point of view. The style used in the drawing and folds in the Eğri Taş Kilise is the same as in the Pürenli Seki Kilise. The gestures, the head types and, above all, the internal drawing of the faces with their large eyes and the high, wide sweep of their arched eyebrows are, however, reminiscent of those in the Church of St. Theodore at Susum Bayrı near Ürgüp. Moreover, the new A-form mentioned above is not yet in general use in the Eğri Taş Kilise, but is mixed in with the normal A. This would actually mean that it probably came shortly before the Pürenli Seki Kilise. Bearing in mind the connection with the Church of St. Theodore, this would take us roughly to the middle of the 11th century.

The two remaining churches, the Kokar and the Yılanlı Kilise, are so closely related that the same workshop has in the past been considered responsible for both. But the problem is not as simple as all that. In the Yılanlı Kilise alone several painters were involved, quite apart from the Deesis over the tomb of the presbyter Cosmas, which was executed by a completely different and more skilled hand, i. e., by a genuinely Byzantine artist of the 11th century. Of these masters one at least must certainly have worked in the

Kokar Kilise too. The artist who painted the Ascension scene in the apse at Yılanlı is also to be considered responsible for the Prophets on the apse arch and the Church Fathers and the Angels in the short cross arms. In the style of his full-length icons of the Saints with a wide ornamental frame he has based himself fairly closely on the master who painted the Saints in the Direkli Kilise beside Belisırma and worked there after the main master (Deesis in the main apse around 1020/25). He is the only painter in the Yılanlı Kilise, apart from the Byzantine painter of the Deesis over the tomb of Cosmas, who, in addition to fold drawing, used white high-lighting of a fairly ornamental nature with parallel lines, small triangles or herring-bone patterns²¹⁶.

On the connecting arch between the cruciform eastern part of the naos and the rectangular western part we find another painter starting up in the Pantocrator picture at the apex. He was responsible, in particular, for the 24 Apocalyptic Elders on the western barrel vault and in the middle tier on the west wall. His painting, coloured in with patches of red, green and yellow and broken up by just a few dark fold lines, which have been conceived in a fairly ornamental and schematic manner, is closely related to the work of the painter who did the Apostles in the Pentecost Feast in the Kokar Kilise. The faces also correspond as far as setting out and technique are concerned, if we leave out of account differences in the characterisation of the Apostles as opposed to the 24 Elders. The drawing of the eyes, eyebrows and nose in a blackish colour and the cheek wrinkles in the same tone gives the Apostles and Elders a kind of primitive hardness and rusticity and usually a simple and stupid appearance as well. The strong and vivid colouring of this painter is what, above all, gives us the impression of a close relationship between the Yılanlı and the Kokar Kilise.

The painter of the Koimesis, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion in the cruciform east naos and also of the bottom and top tiers of the Last Judgement on the west wall does not appear to be identical with either of the two painters so far mentioned. He does not go in for the colourful painting of the master who created the 24 Elders or for the high-lighting of the Ascension master, but prefers a method of painting tones within a tone. In conception and delineation, however, his work is similar to the Gospel scenes of the Pürenli Seki Kilise. We apparently meet him again in the Kokar Kilise, in the Gospel scenes painted on the walls, the only point being that he makes more use of colour there (green, yellow ochre and red) and he has also taken over certain things from the painter of the 24 Elders in the Yılanlı Kilise. Moreover, white high-lighting is always used in the Kokar Kilise, most of all in the Angels of the Ascension scene, where light devices in the Byzantine style from the period around 1000 (e. g., Chapel 6 in Göreme), such as triangles and semi-circles, are assimilated into the painting method. Kokar Kilise, which has advanced furthest in this direction, probably represents the final stage in the painting style of the Irhala group. It may have been created towards the end of the 11th century. The Yılanlı Kilise would then have to be put in the second half of that century.

We can no longer look upon the Church of St. Theodore near Ürgüp as being the earliest example of figural painting in Cappadocia, but as a relative of the churches in the Irhala group. The colouring and the often clumsy drawing, also comparison with Armenian manuscripts, have shown this to be the case. That church and the Ağaç altı Kilise may be the earliest examples of this Armenian-like style. During the 11th century various features from Byzantine painting were assimilated into this style, which in turn had a certain influence on Byzantine art later on. Iconographically, the portrayal of the Last Judgement appears to have been its special contribution to Byzantine painting. We cannot say anything further about the style, as, owing to the poor quality of the paintings in, for example, the Karş Kilise beside Gülşehir or the Canavar Kilise in Soğanlı dere, it is not clear whether their style was influenced by the "Armenising" group. But it would appear that a uniform hybrid style came into existence around 1300. As we have seen, it was no longer based on developments in the capital, but maintained a kind of backwoods existence until the introduction of Baroque forms from Europe in the second half of the 18th century.

WESTERN ASIA MINOR

When the Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus was being excavated from 1926 to 1928 remnants of painting from different periods were discovered in large numbers. The earliest of these are probably to be found in what the Austrian excavators termed the apse hall — the barrel-vaulted burial chamber in the lower part of the large church and tomb complex. The meagre remains, which have been affected by damp, include traces of decorative painting. Flowers are scattered over a white ground, interspersed with plaited baskets of flowers. Tightly plaited garlands go twisting in and out and a bird hides here and there among the blossoms. The antique character of this painting, with no Christian theme at all occurring in the remnants that have survived, is very evident. It may have been modelled on Roman tomb paintings in the style of the St. Gennaro crypt in the Praetextatus Catacomb in Rome²¹⁷, probably from the first half of the 3rd century. The flowers in Ephesus have lost their Impressionistic freshness. The dots of colour are schematic and the same pattern in the arrangement of the petals round the flowers is repeated again and again. The same applies to the stems and leaves, which have been marked in with little lines in a rather uninspired way. Only the plumage of the bird with its neck elegantly extended still reveals some of the colouring refinements of the original models. The garlands are compact and sausage-like and the baskets of flowers have a suggestion of plastic roundness.

There is still no agreement about the dating of these frescoes. Hans Gerstinger²¹⁸ gives a considerable margin of choice from the 5th to the 8th century. It does not help very much if we try to view this as an iconoclastic decoration (there are sources proving that flowers and animals were represented). No decoration has survived from this period in the Byzantine area and our only guide to the style of painting used in iconoclastic decorations is provided by the frescoes of the Omayyad palace of Kasr al-'Amra in the Jordanian desert, dating from the beginning of the 8th century²¹⁹, which were created by Byzantine painters or at least painters with a Byzantine training. The frescoes of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus do not appear to have anything in common with such work. The missing element is the geometrically rigid system within which the scrolls and flowers of the 8th century were normally evolved. And the fat, doughy lines that were used in these paintings and went on into post-iconoclastic ornamentation²²⁰ are not to be found in Ephesus. The Ephesus bird does not have the outline that is so characteristic of the 8th century or internal drawing done in lines. We see here a completely different kind of line, dry and meagre, especially in the flower stems and leaves and in the drawing of the baskets. Parallels for the flower garland theme can be found in the paintings from the Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino in Rome, which have been dated to the end of the 4th century²²¹. André Grabar has attributed the vault architecture of this hall to the 6th century, so the paintings on the vault could not very well be earlier than that²²². But it

would be better to keep to the traditional 5th century dating. The paintings have evolved from the tradition of the 3rd and 4th centuries and may have been created at the beginning of the 5th century, if we regard the painting in the Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino as providing a clue at least²²³.

It is even more difficult to classify the other remnants of the frescoes. The luminous jewel-studded crosses in the catacomb passage have so few characteristic features that they could have been painted at any time. Nor does it help us to compare them with the crosses in the Cave of the Apostles in Latmos²²⁴. The comparable paintings there are just as difficult to date.

Saints were depicted to the right and the left of the entrance to this catacomb passage. We can laboriously distinguish the nimbi. One of them is named as XPICTOΦOPOC in an inscription. The painting remnants still surviving to-day are too small for us to attempt to date them. But they could hardly have been created before the 8th century. The same applies to the Majestas on the arch above, which has completely disappeared.

As for the frescoes recently excavated in the apse of a parecclesion on the north side of the Church of St. John — there are two layers of painting superimposed on each other, depicting the Church Fathers — we must await the published findings. They belong to the late period of Byzantine art.

Investigators have said absolutely nothing about the frescoes in the hermits' caves in Latmos since the initial publication by Theodor Wiegand and Oskar Wulff²²⁵. As often happens, there was no personal inspection of the extremely inaccessible paintings, which are known to us almost entirely from water-colour copies²²⁶.

The earliest frescoes are undoubtedly those in what has been called the Pantocrator Cave, from the main picture contained in it. Oskar Wulff gave chiefly iconographical reasons for dating it to the 7th/8th century²²⁷. However, from the iconographical features in the work — the Pantocrator and the Maria lactans — we can only establish a very wide chronological framework, which has its beginnings in the impressive figure of Christ enthroned between Peter and Paul in the Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino in Rome²²⁸ and, in my opinion, extends well beyond the Iconoclast Controversy into the 10th century. The 10th century is, in fact, the period in Cappadocia when pictures of the Prophetic Vision were put up in the apse. Differences in detail, for example, omission of the fire wheels of Ezekiel (replaced by the canopy of Uranus²²⁹) and the two Angels bearing the mandorla heavenwards (a theme adopted from the Ascension scene), are to be regarded as typological and give no chronological guidance. And the figure of the Maria lactans enthroned under the Pantocrator picture merely warns us not to go too far into the 10th century. For example, a very closely related work from an iconographical point of view is a Coptic Sayyidic manuscript from 906 showing a Pantocrator bust in a clipeus being carried by Angels, with four Evangelists and an enthroned Maria lactans down below²³⁰. (In the Pantocrator Cave the four Beings are perhaps to be interpreted as symbolising the Evangelists. A small remnant surviving on the other side of the vaulting shows that

figures of the Evangelists were depicted also.) In popular and monastic circles in the Byzantine Empire a picture of this type would not have given offence at the time.

As so often happens, we must turn once more to style when trying to pin down the date of the paintings in the Pantocrator Cave. The "dark ages" have left us few examples with which to compare them. If we only consider material with the same content, there are the apse mosaics of the Osios David in Salonika, an icon on Sinai, a few apse niche paintings from Bawit and Saqqara, subject to certain reservations, and the earliest surviving Cappadocian examples of the Prophetic Vision in the Chapels of Gülü dere, Nos. 3 and 4. Apart from the last one, which was produced between 913 and 920, none of the other examples has been definitely dated. The youthful picture of Christ in the Osios David gives a general impression of flickering indiscipline with the composition spread out before us like a complicated carpet, apparently in obedience to the "horror vacui" principle, and at the same time we see the lines becoming firmer and the contours more complete. This cannot now be put in the 5th century, as was originally suggested²³¹. If we settle for the end of the 6th century, this will give us a terminus post quem for our Pantocrator fresco. We would stress here the great gap between the two works. It is therefore not advisable to date the Latmos pictures to the 6th or 7th century²³². Apart from the fact that the Coptic paintings of Bawit can only be placed on the fringe of Byzantine art²³³, there is no agreement about their date. The 6th century has been suggested repeatedly, but there is not sufficient evidence to support this. Worse still is the idea that they were started in the 5th century, as put forward by Christa Ihm-Belting²³⁴. The main group may come before the Arab conquest in the first half of the 7th century. But the frescoes of Bawit can only be compared iconographically with the picture in the Pantocrator Cave, so we shall not deal with them here.

Only the Emmanuel icon in the monastery on Sinai²³⁵ shows some related features — the wide sweeping movement of the right hand in the benediction, the spread out legs and the indeterminate sitting posture that cannot easily be recognised, also the graphical internal drawing which in all its multiplicity does not succeed in making the organic structure of the seated figure clear. These are all characteristic features of the enthroned Christ in the Pantocrator Cave. Sotiriou tried to use these arguments in support of his dating to the early years of the 8th century. But this date seems too early from every point of view.

If we take a look at the earliest Cappadocian examples in Gülü dere, Nos. 3 and 4, both from the first two decades of the 10th century, we find a more consolidated and continuous picture. The vast gesture of benediction in the figure of Christ has been restrained. The hand giving the blessing has been put in front of the chest and the outline is now unbroken. The excessively spread out position of the thighs has been corrected and in the drawing linearism is controlled and has been systematised and schematised. The figure is flat and the sitting posture, although unnatural, is nevertheless recognisable. Here we are quite definitely one step ahead of the paintings in the Pantocrator Cave. The

frescoes in the Chapels of Güllü dere with their fixed date provide us with a terminus post quem non. How much earlier the Latmos paintings were done — shortly before the outbreak of the Iconoclast Controversy or immediately afterwards or actually in the intermediate period under the Empress Irene, from 787 to 813 — has still to be decided, but we only have a poor set of arguments on which to base this.

A fresco showing the entry of an Emperor, probably Justinian II, into Salonika on the south wall of the Basilica of St. Demetrius, which has for excellent reasons been put at about 690²³⁶, displays a round sweeping movement in the internal drawing and bloused out draperies such as we find in the Angels in the Pantocrator Cave. But this trend appears to have persisted into the 9th century, as can be seen from the pictures in the Pantocrator Psalter No. 61²³⁷. For the intermediate phase in the Iconoclast Controversy under Irene the style reconstructed with the help of Carolingian manuscripts, such as the Vienna Coronation Evangeliar, the Aachen Treasury Evangeliar and the Xanten Evangeliar in Brussels, involves a much stronger element of illusion than that of our fresco in the Pantocrator Cave. The Xanten Evangeliar in particular²³⁸ shows Christ enthroned on the globe of the world — a very voluminous figure. Among our examples of work preserved in the East the Emmanuel icon from Sinai comes closest to this. But this Emmanuel can almost certainly be placed before our Latmos Pantocrator, which gives the effect of being more complete and schematic and more decidedly graphical. If we are not mistaken, this would take us to the middle of the 9th century, i. e., to the first decades after the Iconoclast Controversy. To check this it might be a good idea to compare this work with an evangeliar from the Garrett Collection, No. 6²³⁹. Here the voluminous Impressionist style has already receded and the contour is more or less unbroken. Graphical devices are coming more and more into the forefront. If you hold the surviving head and shoulder of one of the Evangelists from the Pantocrator Cave alongside the corresponding area of Mark from the Garrett manuscript, you will be convinced that the two works come quite close to each other, but that the Garrett Evangeliar perhaps represents a rather later stage.

O. Wulff put the Gospel scenes in the Cave beside the Yediler Monastery in the first half of the 13th century. Quite rightly he identified in the paintings an "underlying mood of deep seriousness and inward agitation", "a cry of anguish and distress", "dramatic action", also hard, angular movements, powerful curves, "a strong feeling for line", a "lively pantomime" and contorted facial expressions. He therefore moved them as far as possible into the 13th century and tried to link them up with Palaeologue art because he did not know the special characteristics of Late Comnene art after the frescoes of Nerezi (from 1165, probably by artists from Constantinople). In the Yediler frescoes too we come across morose faces distorted by grief, tearful and furrowed with wrinkles, wild, streaming hair and expansive gestures (the Transfiguration). The draperies are split up into swirling portions with folds cutting deep into them and running round them. A tense accumulation of parallel folds is piled up between the legs, which sometimes almost seem to be dancing,

or adorns the robes of the Angels from the Baptism scene which are spread over their hands and forearms. Break-neck postures and artificial semi-dislocation of the body are common. All these are clear characteristics of the Late Comnene style at the close of the 12th century. Comparable examples can be found at Nerezi and then Kurbinovo (1191)²⁴⁰ and in the related decoration at Hagioi Anargyroi at Kastoria and later on at Hagios Nikolaos tu Kasnitzes and the Panagia Mavriotissa, both at Kastoria²⁴¹, also at Bačkovio in Bulgaria²⁴². This Late Comnene style also occurs in manuscripts, e. g., in two codices in the British Museum²⁴³ and a leaf with twelve Apostle busts from an Athos codex, now in the Kanellopoulos Collection in Athens²⁴⁴. No doubt many more examples could be quoted from manuscripts, e. g., the characteristic closing of every scene at the back by a wall with two architectural parts or mountains on the right and left, as in a codex in the Georgian National Museum in Tiflis²⁴⁵.

O. Demus was the only person to realise that the frescoes in the Yediler Cave belonged here²⁴⁶. There is nothing to prevent us from putting them at the close of the 12th century — not even the palaeographical features of the inscriptions, as these ligatures can be seen at Kurbinovo and even at Nerezi. The paintings could not very well be given an earlier date. An Apostle from the Transfiguration scene in the Yediler Cave can be compared with Luke in the leading manuscript of the so-called Nicaea Group²⁴⁷. This clearly illustrates the intermediate position occupied by our paintings, but indicates that they come very much closer to metropolitan art than do the Cappadocian paintings of this period in the Çarıklı, Elmalı and Karanlık Kilise in Göreme. A date in the 13th century is less likely, although there is a group of provincial latecomers in the Late Comnene linear style that extends far into the 13th century, with as its main works the frescoes of the Churches of St. Nicholas at Monastir (between Prilep and Bitola, from the year 1271)²⁴⁸ and at Markova Varoš (from 1299, probably by the same hand)²⁴⁹. But this lingering tendency appears to have been confined to the remote area of western Macedonia²⁵⁰. In the case of Western Asia Minor one could assume that there was a closer connection with the centre of the Empire.

The illustrations published by T. Wiegand show that the paintings in the Christ Cave beside Heraclea could only have been produced a short time before. The frescoes in the Paul Cave near the Stylos Monastery may go back to the first half of the 12th century. But I must postpone any decision on this until I have seen these extremely inaccessible paintings with my own eyes.



NICAEA AND TREBIZOND

NICAEA AND TREBIZOND

After the disaster of 1204 — when the armies of the Fourth Crusade had conquered, plundered and ravaged Constantinople — Nicaea and Trebizond (both Byzantine Imperial residences of the 13th century) were, owing to their political function, qualified to become artistic centres for what remained of the might of Byzantium. So we are justified in dealing with them jointly and taking Nicaea out of the geographical area of Western Asia Minor.

At the spartan and almost petit bourgeois court of the Lascarids in Nicaea nearly all the politicians, church dignitaries and scholars²⁵¹ who had survived the fall of the capital congregated gradually. By dint of cleverness and perseverance the Nicaean Emperors soon made that state the only candidate aspiring to the old position once enjoyed by the Byzantine Empire, which symbolically appeared to be won back with the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. All the plans of the Grand Comneni Alexius and David of Trebizond, who had this same object in view, were foiled in 1205 and 1206 by the victorious Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea. From then onwards Trebizond remained a rich, but politically unimportant trading power. These two states and their capital cities developed along quite different lines, but in the artistic field they must have produced similar, if not actually related, works.

In Nicaea, which was fought over again and again and then destroyed, we find hardly any monuments. Paintings from the period when Nicaea was the Imperial residence only survived in the Hagia Sophia, which later became a mosque and was ravaged by fire. In the twenties of this century Michael Alpatoff²⁵² saw more in the south-eastern portion of the church than we can to-day: "On the dome between the windows — standing figures of the Apostles and Angels; on the lunette-shaped walls — only Saints in medallions; from the west wall — Christ and Constantine (?) and Helena." To-day only a very meagre remnant has survived on the dome of the side chamber, notably the head of an Angel. But even these scanty remains show that people have been quite wrong in accepting Alpatoff's verdict that the painting was retrospective in character²⁵³. The finely graduated colouring of the flesh tint and the matching mood of the draperies and the background, also the treatment of the head, conceived in a relaxed and classical manner as a plastic whole with few subdivisions, have little in common with the over-expressive Late Comnene style towards the end of the 12th century. This would seem to have been the work of a progressive painter from the second quarter of the 13th century with a sure feeling for design.

When confronted with this painting, the art historian begins to wonder whether we are justified in grouping round the Parisinus Coislin 200 and the Rockefeller McCormick Manuscript No. 2400 from Chicago a very conservative collection of manuscripts which do not reach these artistic heights, although this grouping has been almost universally

accepted as correct. This so-called Nicaea Group²⁵⁴ owes its importance, above all, to the fact that the Paris Coislin 200 was sent as a gift to Louis IX of France by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1269. It was concluded from this that the manuscript and therefore the entire group must have been produced in a court workshop, most probably in Nicaea. The assumption that a court workshop was responsible is extremely hypothetical. It might just as well have been the scriptorium of a monastery somewhere in the Lascarid domains. From the meagre fresco remains in the Hagia Sophia in Nicaea we cannot suggest a new site for the so-called Nicaea Group, but they are quite sufficient to make us rather doubtful about the Nicaea theory.

The collection of relics in Trebizond is very much better. Of course, many of the items seen and photographed by Gabriel Millet in 1893 have since been destroyed, but enough has survived to give us a more complete and exact picture than in Nicaea. Excluding post-Byzantine work, we must deplore in particular the total loss of the Theoskepastos paintings. Thanks to the years of restoration work undertaken by the Russell Trust of St. Andrew's University under the guidance of D. T. Rice and D. Winfield, the frescoes of the Hagia Sophia in the west of the city have actually acquired a new lustre. A monograph is coming out on the subject. At least four masters were at work here, if we include the narthex and the vestibules. The decorating operation extended over a considerable period. Here and there we find two different layers superimposed on each other. There is also an overlapping of two iconographical programmes, so some scenes appear twice. The two main masters, the painter of the Ascension scene and the painter of the lower Gospel scenes, have reached the artistic heights of their period. There can be no question of a tradition from Asia Minor living on here in Trebizond, as Sotiriou thought²⁵⁵. Minor Orientalisms are certainly to be found here and there, especially in the later and less important painters who worked in the narthex and the vestibules, but they do not in any way detract from the effect of the main scenes in the naos²⁵⁶.

The quality of the paintings in the Hagia Sophia is not unique in Trebizond. A fragment of the Anastasis in the northern portion of the East Chapel of St. Sabas reveals a picture of Christ that closely resembles the Christ from the Koimesis on the west wall at Sopoćani²⁵⁷. This similarity extends even to painting details, for example, the extraordinarily delicate gradation of the flesh tint by the sfumato technique, going from shadow to light, in spite of the separate layers of green underpainting (proplasmos) and flesh colour (glykasmos) used in its structure, or the red outline round the sides of the nose. Monumental classicism, spaciouly relaxed modelling, bright colouring with a tendency to use complementary effects and the absence of loudly insistent graphical touches are features common to both. The high quality of these remains shows that there must have been efficient workshops operating around the middle of the 13th century, no doubt coming up to the metropolitan level. The similarities of style existing in centres like Sopoćani and Trebizond that were geographically far apart confirm that there was a dominant stylistic trend shared by all, which would have been termed metropolitan under

any other political conditions, but not in the 13th century, the period of the Latin Empire.

It is surprising that there should have been a common language of this kind in the leading workshops of the 13th century in spite of their wide regional separation. And we cannot help assuming that there must have been an artistic centre in occupied Constantinople as well. The so-called Nicaea Group of manuscripts, which have been ascribed to the Blachernae Palace school in Constantinople, can be disregarded here owing to their retrospective character²⁵⁸. Much more attention should be given to the style of a group of 13th century manuscripts of far higher quality which Kurt Weitzmann has combined because of the iconography and the motifs used²⁵⁹. If these manuscripts did, in fact, originate in Constantinople, we would be far more inclined to think of a court school here than in connection with the second-rate Nicaea Group. The inspiration must have come from there, unless workshops from the capital were actually summoned to Trebizond. Such artists would certainly not have been commissioned only to do small jobs, like the painting of a cave chapel, but would have been given more important work at court. The painting of the main church in the city, Panagia Chrysokephalos, or of the Hagios Eugenios would not have been entrusted to secondary workshops if such masters had been available.

The Lower West Chapel in the rock monastery of St. Sabas was also painted in the 13th century. But it was the work of other painters. If we compare this with the somewhat conservative frescoes of Boiana²⁶⁰ from the year 1259, we are at once struck by the greater sureness of touch shown by the St. Sabas painter in Trebizond. The paintings at Boiana fluctuate between Late Comnene linearism and the new full-blooded realism of the mid-century work at Mileševo and Sopoćani, but this is absent in Trebizond, where every figure is voluminous in conception. Memories of Late Comnene linearism have been blotted out, even in the faces, as we can see by comparing the head of Christ from the Entry into Jerusalem at Boiana and in Trebizond. Drapery treatment in Trebizond is quiet and uncomplicated with division into great lapidary lines running longitudinally, a system already in use at Mileševo around 1236/40²⁶¹. The volume of the figures is not quite so definite in Trebizond. Occasionally we find two different volumes combined in one figure, as in the case of Moses in the Transfiguration scene, where the left arm gives a curious impression of having been stuck on. Like many other things, e. g., the dumpy proportioning of the figures and the squat-looking heads, sometimes with "Oriental" faces, this can be put down to the work of provincial painters. But there are also heads, for example, that of Christ in the Baptism scene, that can stand up to comparison with the Apostle heads at Sopoćani²⁶². We could compare many other details of design, e. g., the draping of the upper arm of Adam in the Anastasis at Sopoćani and of Moses in the Transfiguration scene in Trebizond, or the occasional use of sinuous folds, as in Peter in the Entry into Jerusalem, but this does not tell us anything new. The painter of the west cave of St. Sabas does indeed base himself on the monumental style with its voluminous plastic effects, but he does not have the sureness of touch of the first master at Sopoćani or of

the painters of the Hagia Sophia and the Christ fragment in the east cave of St. Sabas. It may therefore have been a local painter who created the frescoes around 1260/70²⁶³.

The painting of the north parecclesion was definitely done later. But most of it has been so seriously damaged that dating not only seems difficult, but pointless. The only thing to note is that the head, probably of an Apostle, on the eastern connecting wall resembles that of Peter in the Koimesis in the Milutin Church of Studenica²⁶⁴ from about 1313/14. But the Trebizond Apostle is calmer and more composed and actually more classical. There is nothing here of the almost scurrilous tone we detect in the Milutin paintings. This may be because the common artistic language they all shared was breaking up.

In the Upper West Chapel of the St. Sabas Monastery we also find a painter from the second half of the 13th century, representing yet another tradition. He has abandoned the bright, burning, clashing colours of the Lower Chapel. A rich deep red and brown tone links up all the items in the picture. Characteristic features of the Deesis with the tetramorphs in the small apse are the very short three-quarter profiles, which are well done, the chrysography, made up of small portions, combined with shoulders rounded in a powerful plastic manner, and almost classical draperies with delicate modelling. The paintings in the Church of the Apostles at Peć²⁶⁵ appear to be comparable. So a connection can still be seen between Serbia and Trebizond, showing relations between the individual workshops and, above all, with the centre, Constantinople, which must have been accessible from there. Trebizond in the 13th century was not an art exclave standing on its own and shut off from all that was going on in the Byzantine world. There were a number of busy workshops, each with its own individual peculiarities. Except perhaps for the Christ fragment from the Anastasis in the East Chapel of St. Sabas these were Trebizond workshops. This is shown by a number of "Orientalisms" and provincialisms which have been added to the period style belonging to the third phase of the 13th century, as seen in the main Serbian works.

The painting of central Anatolia had no effect at all on the work in Trebizond. Shortly after 1200, less than two hundred years after the Seljuks had conquered the land, artistic activity died out in Cappadocia. The new art of the mid-13th century did not awaken any response there. This period was marked by the rise of Trebizond. Here artists no longer followed the waning and outmoded Late Comnene style which had just been affecting Cappadocia, but were turning to new metropolitan works in the Palaeologue style which was coming into existence at that time.

The frescoes in the East Chapel of St. Sabas are far more difficult to classify, although an inscription, now destroyed, has traditionally given the date of painting as 1411. This is not because of the provincial character of the painting, which contains details showing a remarkably high quality. The difficulty lies mainly in our imperfect knowledge of Late Palaeologue art from about 1360/70. Individual comparisons with paintings from the same period in Greece reveal absolutely similar tendencies as regards style.

We are not fortunate enough to possess a comprehensive analysis of Late Palaeologue art like that provided by Demus for Early Palaeologue work, but now have a better idea of the Main Palaeologue period, coming roughly in the first half of the 14th century, thanks to the attention paid recently to the leading work in that style, the mosaics and frescoes of the Kariye Camii in Constantinople. We see reversions to the Early and the Main Palaeologue style and indeed to the Classical Macedonian style, especially in the draperies, the juxtaposition of various methods and of progressive and retarding forces, also a growing tendency to copy. Above all, we are aware of the individual centres becoming sealed off more and more from one another and from the main centres and of the precarious political situation in the "Empire". All these factors make it impossible for us to obtain an overall picture of Late Palaeologue art and its course of evolution. Even in the 14th century the common factor of Byzantine forms can still be seen to some extent. But in the 15th century the picture has become so complex that it is difficult to identify even a few of the features that most of the creations of this period have in common. Two characteristics stand out in particular — plastic shapes that are tightly rounded as if under pressure from inside and lights that are as hard as glass and as sharp as a knife and all splintered. These are two diametrically opposite tendencies. The fact that they are combined together is typical of this style which began in the late 14th century and attempted to mix so many other contradictory things together²⁶⁶.

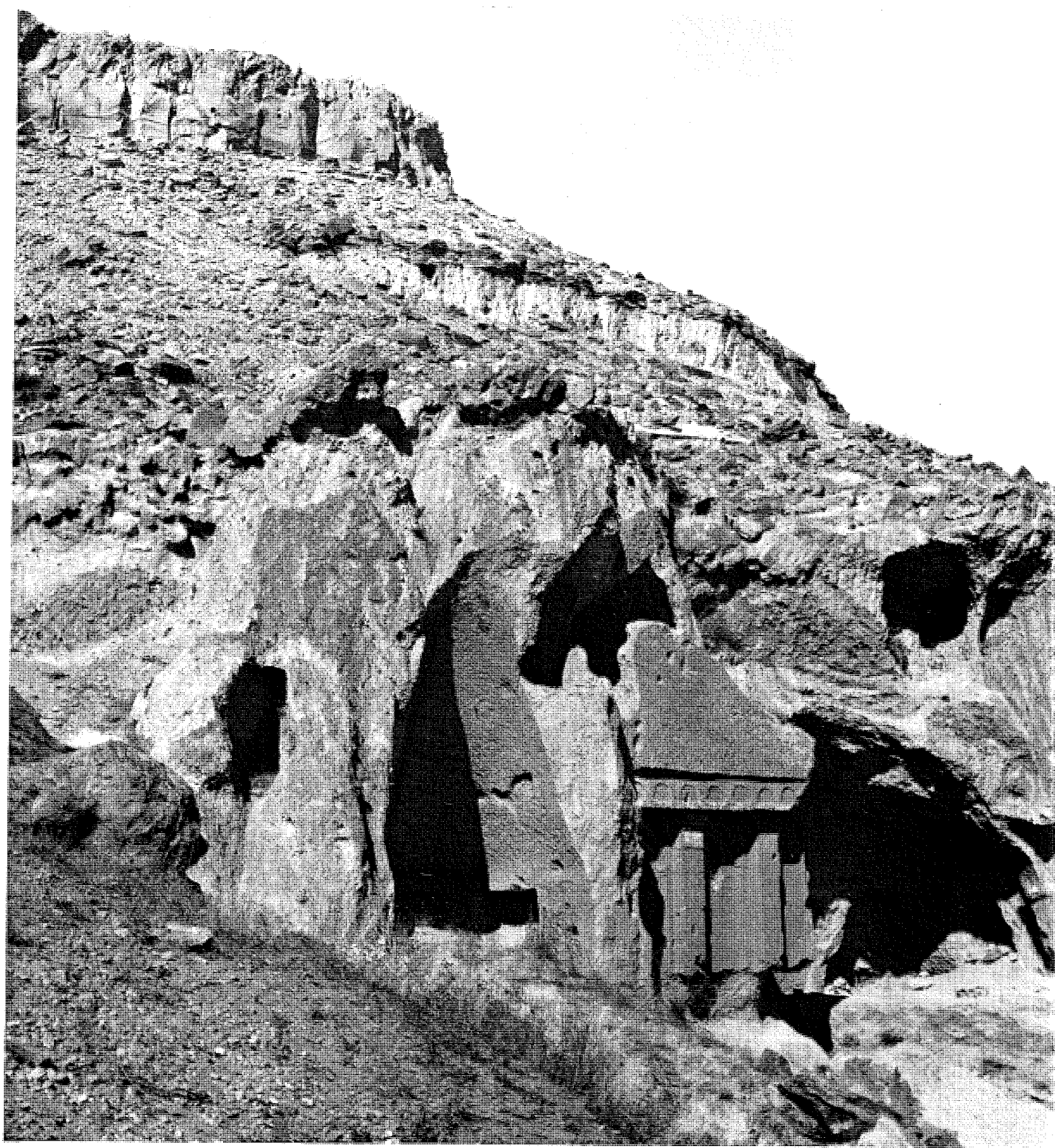
Even in the East Chapel of St. Sabas the brilliant technique shown in the detail must not blind us to the rather unsatisfactory overall picture. The compositions have been put together by adding and accumulating various things — pieces of architecture, individual persons and groups of persons are put into the picture and accumulated without being properly connected together. Only the individual figure or the detail achieves monumentality. The picture as a whole becomes a jumble. Round, voluminous forms and smooth, bloated heads with their very obvious outlines give us the illusion of a properly moulded human body, but a real, firm skeleton is nearly always lacking. Hands and feet look as if they have been made from rubber or plasticine. Bulging shoulders and knees are meant to represent a real body under the billowing, inflated draperies. In contrast to this the internal drawing uses hard, sharp forms, pointed like arrows and giving the effect of splintered glass. But this system of lights, built up largely from simple geometric figures in a complicated and often confusing way, has no effect on the plastic impression brought out by darkly glowing hues, an exaggerated sfumato technique and the outline; it is an extra, thrown over the figures like a net. The colours set harshly side by side, bright and dark, warm and cold, are really made to glow by the touches of sharp, glittering white. The drawing and colouring are almost too clever.

This style reaches its climax in the Pantanassa frescoes of Mistra²⁶⁷, dating from the thirties or forties of the 15th century. Compared with these, the frescoes in the East Chapel of St. Sabas are more lapidary and show a greater effort to produce continuous, unbroken shapes. At Mistra the process of disintegration is carried further.

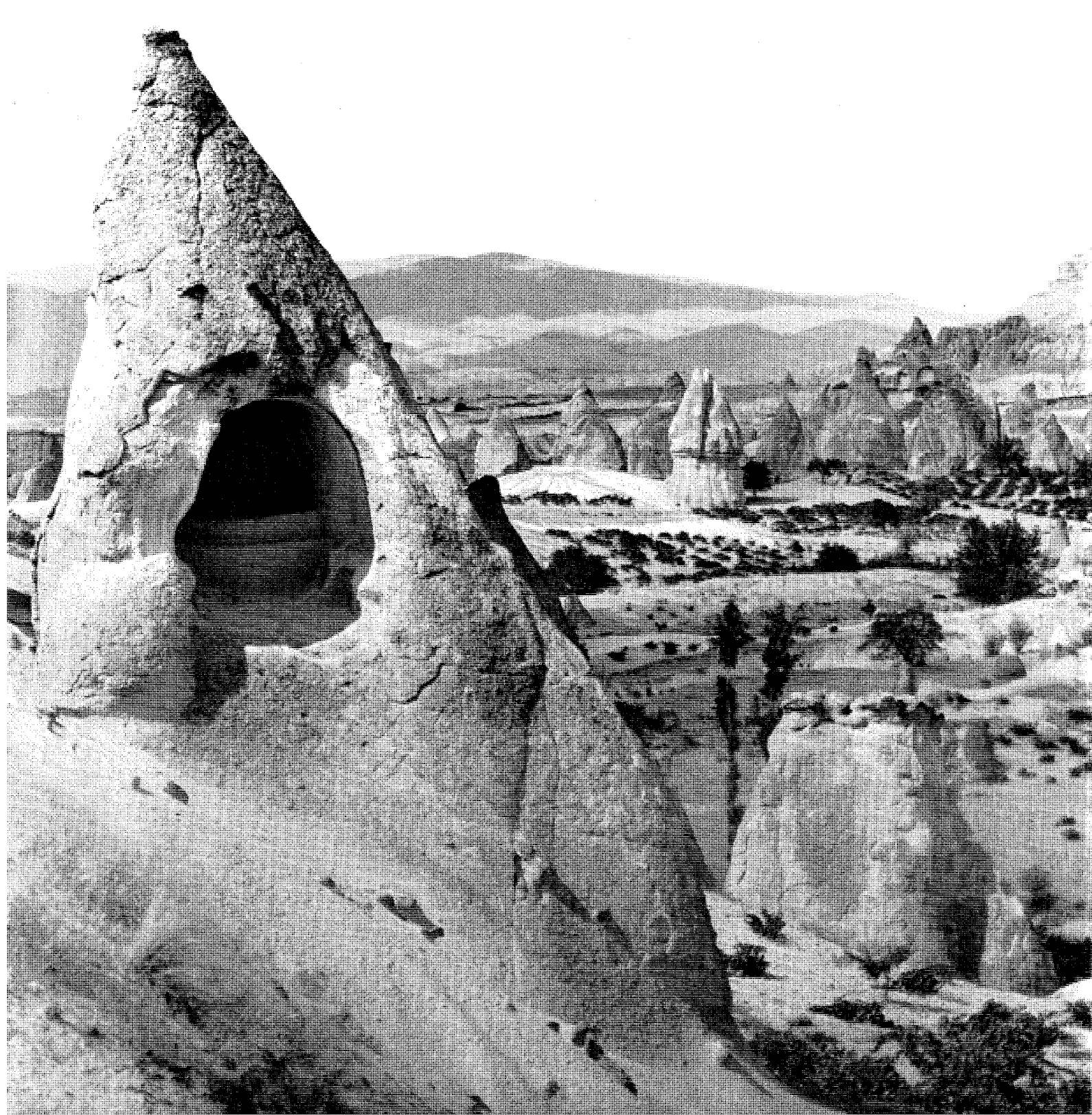
It is not possible to make exhaustive comparisons with icons and book illuminations. The Christ of the Akra Tapeinosis in the small apse niche is certainly related to the well known Meteora icon²⁶⁸, but it also shows that in the twenty or so years that divide the two works the outline has become more important, as also in a few fresco fragments in the Paulos Kanellopoulos Collection in Athens²⁶⁹, some details of which can be compared, for example, the cruciform nimbus. The icon of John at Mytilene²⁷⁰, like the frescoes of the Pantanassa at Mistra, reveals the final stage in this style, which extends far into the post-Byzantine period.



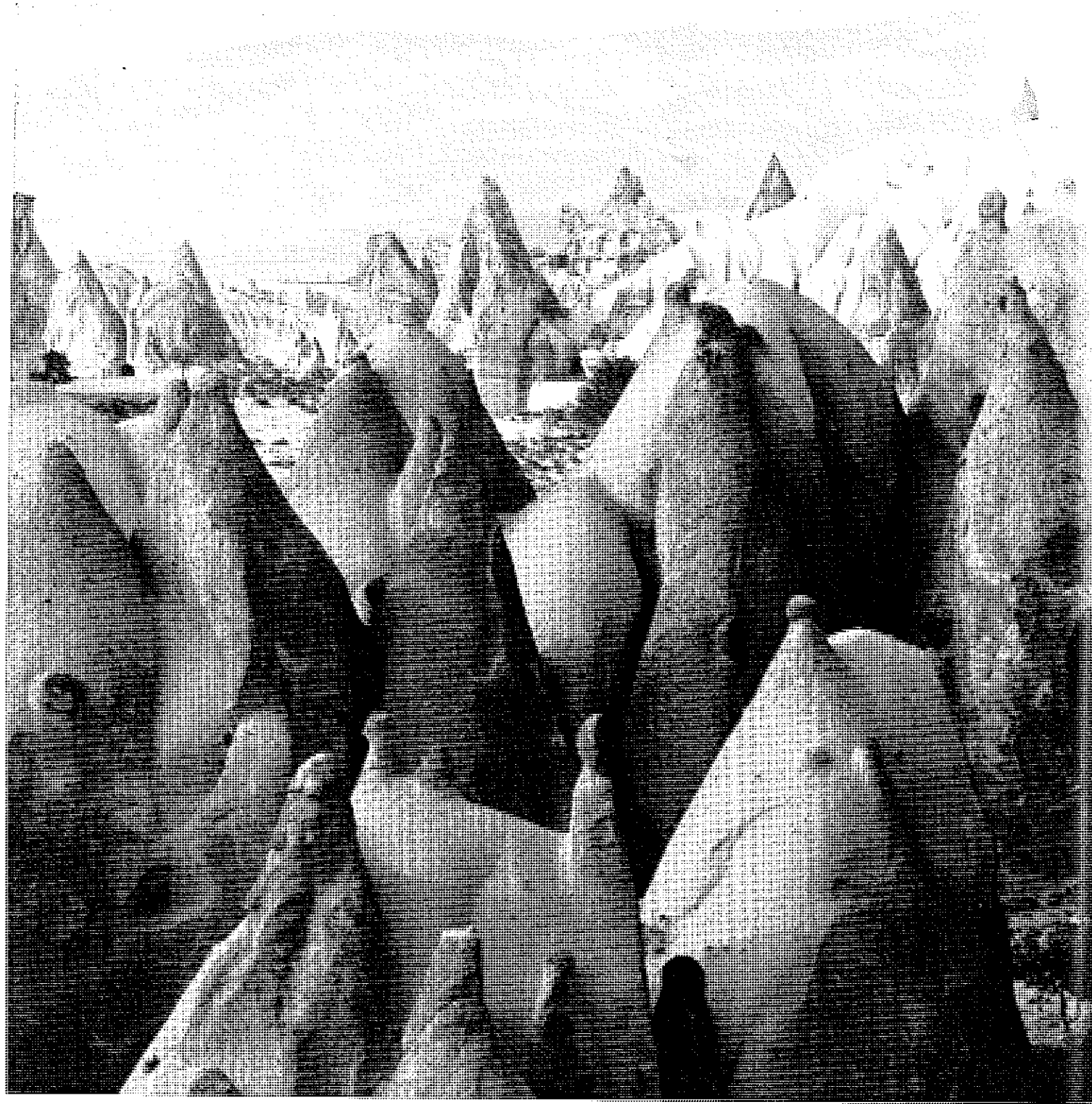
The village of Çavuşin. In the middle of the rock wall above the village are the remains of the pillared facade of the Church of St. John. The great Dovecote of Çavuşin with its paintings is situated farther to the left in another wall of rock not visible in the picture.



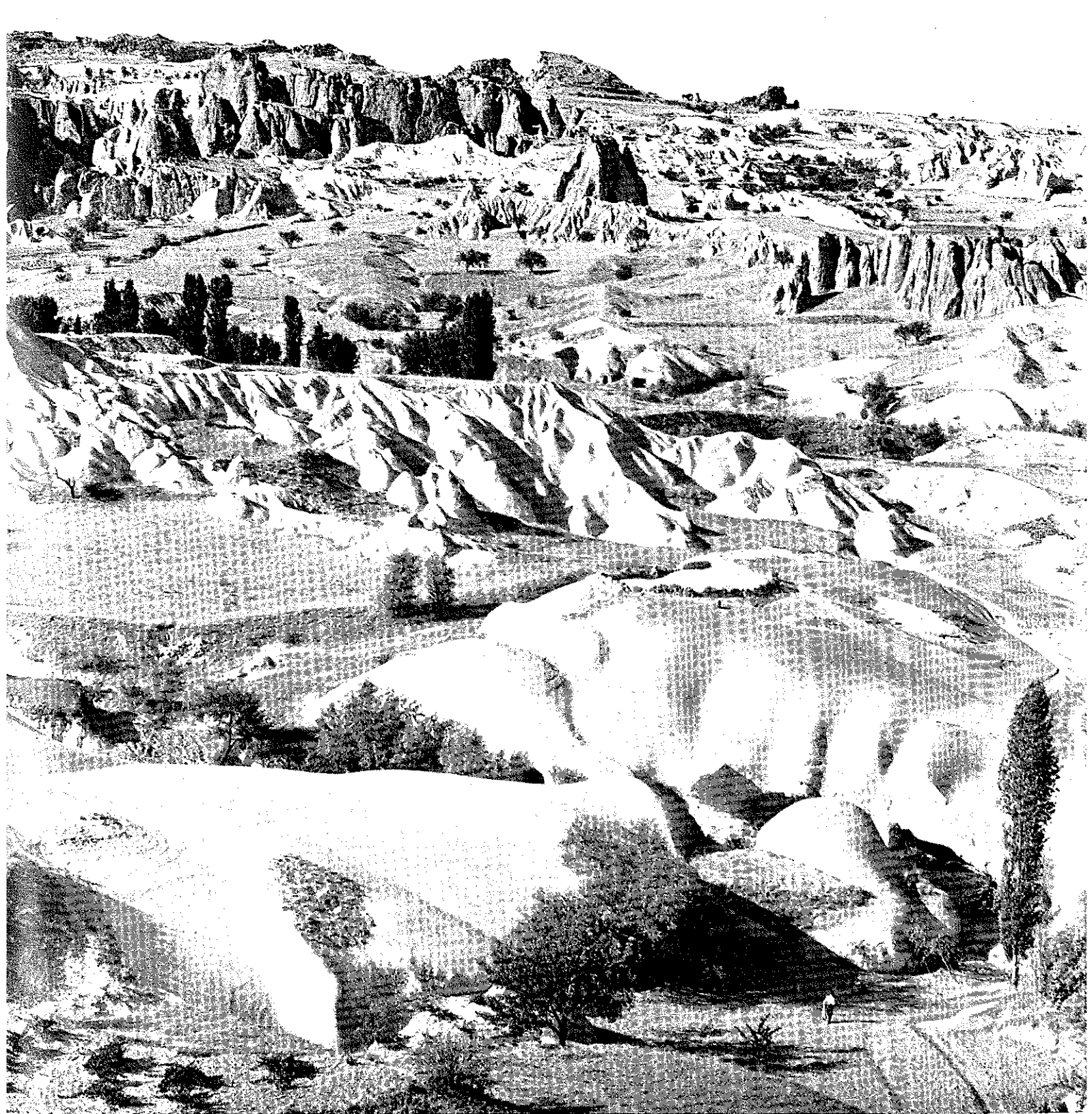
Remains of a rock facade above the Church of the Forty Martyrs near Söviş (Sahinefendi).



The view from the high ridge between the Göreme valley and Kılıçlar dere to the north-east over towards Avanos shows the valley of the river Kızılırmak, the Halys of Antiquity. On the right we can see the Kılıçlar dere in the foreground and in the background the Güllü dere and the rocky slopes beside Kızıl Çukur. Çavuşin is situated behind the spur of rock away on the right.



1e Gülü dere area with its curious cone-shaped rock formations. The Halys valley lies away the back. Chapel 1 in Gülü dere is situated in the rocky tower in the middle.



The valley near Çavuşin seen from the great Dovecote. The valley of the Halys is on the right.



The rocky valley of Göreme. The Kızlar kalesi can be seen in the centre of the picture and chapel 16 down below on the left side. Just sliced off by the edge of the picture on the left is chapel 23, the Karanlık Kilise. In the right half of the picture steps in the rock lead to Chapel 3, the Yılanlı Kilise. The Elmalı Kilise, Chapel 19, is away to the right, outside the picture, and the Çarıklı Kilise, Chapel 22, is over to the left.

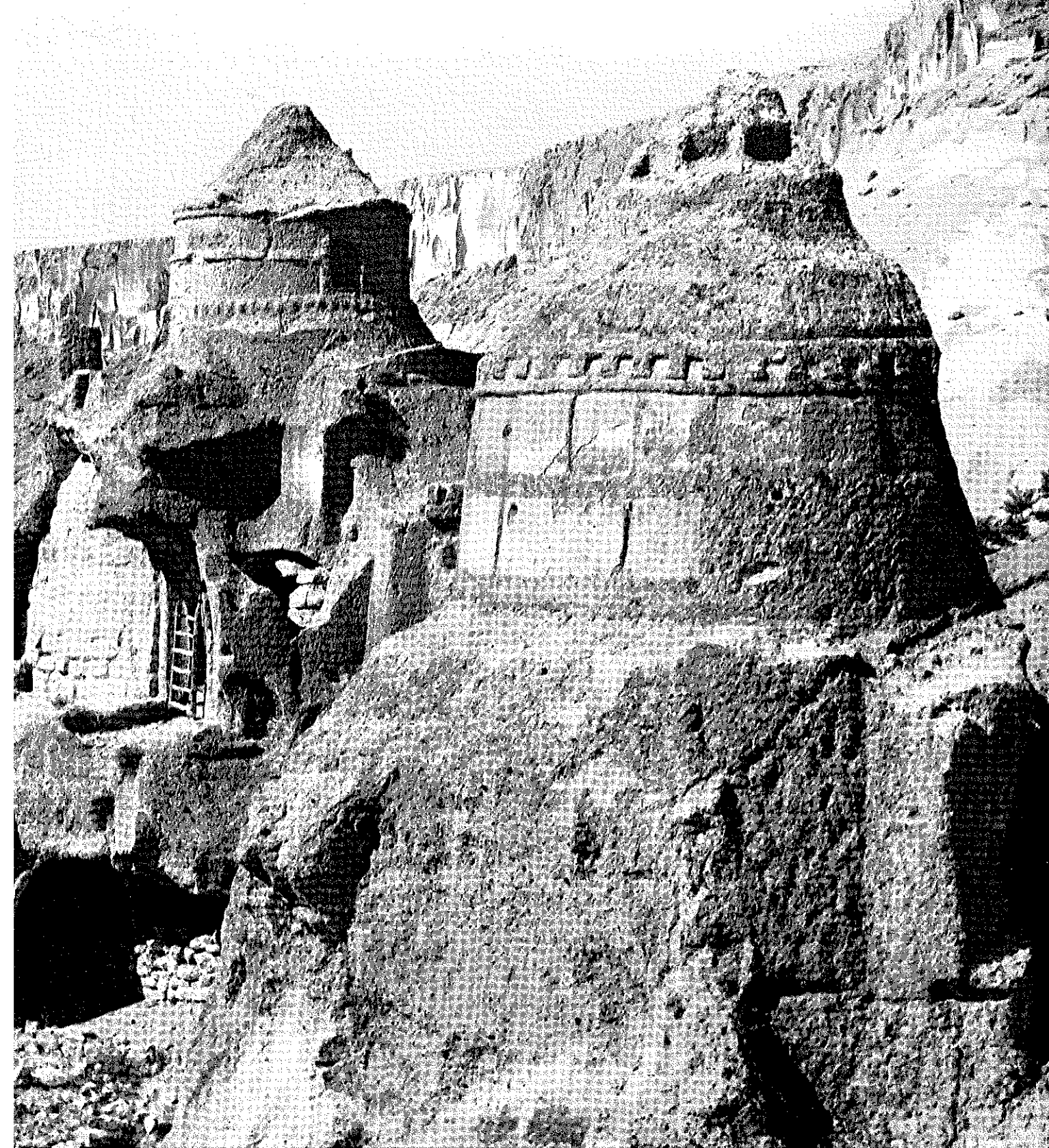


Remains of chapels and monks' cells on the high ridge above Chapel 4a in Göreme



The churches of the Belli Kilise in Soğanlı dere. In the foreground Belli Kilise I, with Belli Kilise II behind it. We can see the external work on the dome, in imitation of squared stone, also the denticulated moulding and the conical roof.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS



ches of the Belli Kilise in Sogankı dere. In the foreground Belli Kilise I, with Belli behind it. We can see the external work on the dome, in imitation of squared stone, enticulated moulding and the conical roof.

SITUATION: In the western parallel valley of Göreme. We leave the highway to Maçan in the bed of the stream shortly after Chapel 3 and go off to the left of it in a southerly direction. After about 800 m we once again leave the bed of the stream and climb up along footpaths to the east through the vineyards until we come to the church. It is situated in a solitary pillar of rock. I

LITERATURE: Je I, 1, 177—198; Swoboda 124.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 39.1 and 2—42.3.

ARCHITECTURE: Three cross arms with barrel vaults. The crossing is divided off by pilasters and arches. The dome, which comes over a circle tending towards an oval (similar to the Hagia Sophia in Salonika) and is separated off by a projecting moulding, rests by means of pendentives on the crossing arches. Immediately adjoining the crossing is a large horse-shoe apse with niches and there is an apsidiole adjoining the south cross arm. From the north cross arm a passage leads eastwards into an irregularly shaped side room. Niches provided with seats have been hollowed out along the walls of the cross arms; there are tombs only in the west arm. A large part of the floor has given way and fallen into chambers situated lower down (in the north-west and under the crossing) and the lower part of the apse conch has also collapsed.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The continuity of the entire cycle has been well preserved, although there has sometimes been extensive damage to individual parts of it. The faces have suffered relatively little. As half of the lower part of the apse on the right has been broken off, wind and water have done much to destroy the painting. Except for the Angel on the left, the lower parts of the figures have disappeared almost completely. The grey ground, which was no doubt applied by the painters as a rule towards the end and went on to an almost dry opsis — technically coming into the secco category — was the part least able to withstand the elements and has vanished completely, apart from the portion on the right between the throne of the Madonna and the Angel. The paintings in the apse must, however, have suffered more than those in the naos even while the church was in use and before half of the apse conch collapsed. Either soot from candles and oil lamps blackened the paintings here so badly that a vigorous cleaning campaign was undertaken or else the fissure in the conch, which later caused its partial collapse, was present over a long period, with the result that water came in and washed off the paintings.

In the south cross arm there has been a great deal of damage to the Annunciation and the Visitation, as a wall crack begins here and runs up to the right and through the next scene. Water has trickled in as a result along two different courses, so washing off nearly all the painting down below. The Nativity scene has been so severely damaged by stone-throwing that little can be identified apart from the actual composition. The seated figure of Joseph has been obliterated by the running water and the mark made by it has extended into the Magi scene down below, which is almost as badly damaged as the other scene. The Flight into Egypt has been subjected to devastating attacks with stones.

The remaining scenes in the naos are in a fair state of preservation apart from signs of stone-throwing and the fact that the colours have rubbed off considerably everywhere. But more serious damage is evident in the Transfiguration (and, next to this, Constantine and Helena);

here only Christ, Moses and Peter have survived. This was due to partial collapse of the protecting wall of the west cross arm and the portions of rock between the west and north arms, situated to the north. Fresh, deep cracks indicate that the entire western part of the north cross arm (with the lower part of the Entry into Jerusalem) will suffer the same fate. After this the dome will be affected. One pendentive is already cracked through. So is the second pendentive, which is diagonally opposite the first. The south-east pillar and the southern portion of the apse will break off too.

The paintings on the dome have suffered least.

TECHNIQUE: Gesso and straw mixed with sand and 2 mm thick as the painting plaster. With one exception (cf. below — the apse), the preliminary sketch was done in green (evident, above all, in the Entry into Jerusalem).

The cycle was executed by two painters. The first worked on the dome and in a few of the Gospel scenes (e.g., the Flight into Egypt). Over a light undercoat of green (the proplasmos) he applied the flesh colour (the glykasmos), but left the shadow parts in green. On the glykasmos he put lights in the form of transparent patches (cheek bones) and finally, using hatching, he added the high-lights in white and the drawing in red.

The second painter worked mainly in the west and north cross arms and also in the apse. He did not use a green undercoat, but started with a glykasmos mixed evenly with a little green. Over this he put a brighter flesh colour mixed with pink and this passed over into red lines. He used only lightly applied white lights, especially round the eyes.

The draperies show uniform treatment. The local tone was put straight on to the opsis without any green undercoat. Over this came the ornamental modelling in white. Shadows occur only on brown and green. Two colours have been used as local tones: red (which may be softened to pink or deepened to purple) and light green (which may become a neutral grey or be deepened to olive green). There is alternate use of colour in the draperies as a rule, with a single pattern of alternation in the naos (pink-green-pink) — the best example of this is the Transfiguration — and a double pattern on the dome (red-red-olive green-olive green-red-red). There is also a second system of arrangement geared to the posture and gestures of the figures and combining one red and one olive green figure. Many parts of the Gospel cycle could be regarded as having been painted twice (the Madonna from the Annunciation in the south cross arm). Here the original painting seems to have been gone over in secco in a single colour, i.e., dark red ochre. Owing to weather conditions this new coat, which was not washproof, may have disappeared, so allowing the original painting and lights to come into view. But careful analysis of these and similar parts gives us quite a different picture of the situation. For one thing, the reddish violet colour (burnt sienna?) which is covered over here also occurs on the dome, which was definitely not touched at all, and, for another, the lights here (I consider this to be a technique peculiar to the second painter) have not been applied in pure white, but in red superimposed on the even darker local tone. These red lights (which to-day represent the dark parts of these figures) were certainly applied by the same hand as the white lights on pink nearby (in the Presentation in the Temple). They reveal the same brush strokes and the same methods. In these particular parts the dark ground (probably a dark lilac tone) was applied to a fairly dry base, i.e., more or less in secco, whilst the dark red lights were mixed with fresh lime, so forming a firmly set skin. This means

that the local colour was not waterproof, but the lights were. As a result, the effect of these figures to-day is the opposite of what it once was, rather like the negative of a print. The same process can be observed in the accompanying figures in the apse, the only point being that the Madonna here, together with the two Angels, really has been gone over again completely. Moreover, owing to obliteration caused by rain water, the green preliminary sketch of a standing Madonna has now come into view. It is no longer possible to establish definitely whether it ever went beyond the stage of a preliminary sketch, as no traces of colour have survived apart from this. The preliminary sketch might have been painted on the wet opsis and the picture itself in secco, so rain water would have obliterated it easily. The second preliminary sketch of the seated Madonna with the Angels and Saints was done in red ochre. In the panels of Angels parts of the preliminary sketch are visible. In this second composition the three central figures were executed quite differently from the scenes in the naos as far as the painting structure is concerned. The flesh tones have subsequently darkened very considerably, probably because cinnabar was used in the glykasmos or because a binding medium alien to frescoes (size or something of the kind) was either utilised at the same time or applied later on. This darkening would in the first case be caused by the effect that cinnabar is known to have and in the second by increased absorption of soot and dirt. This second type of painting is certainly not contemporary with that in the naos, as the tonality is completely different.

Yet another layer of painting, which has so far been found in the first niche in the apse (farthest to the west) and on the east wall of the north cross arm, consists of ornamental painting on a plain lime ground (symmetrical floral ornament in yellow, green, red and pink). Superimposed over this in the naos were the first plaster ground, mixed with sand, and the second one (the opsis) bearing the large cycle.

GOREME CHAPEL 2a

SAKLI KİLİSE OR CHURCH OF ST. JOHN

SITUATION: Up on the ridge separating the valleys of Göreme and El Nazar. We leave the road from Göreme to Maçan immediately before the narrowest part, beside Chapel 3, and go to the left, following a path that leads very steeply upwards along the ridge. The chapel can be reached from the top by means of a few steps going down to the right. II

LITERATURE: M. Ş. İpşiroğlu — S. Eyuboğlu, Saklı Kilise. Une Eglise Rupestre en Cappadoce, Istanbul, n. d.; Budde, 21—26, 33 f. Nos. 78—96; idem, Die Johanneskirche von Göreme, Pantheon 19 (1961), 263—271; Swoboda 122 and 125.

ILLUSTRATIONS: İpşiroğlu — Eyuboğlu and Budde.

ARCHITECTURE: A transverse rectangular hall divided into two transverse chambers by a triple arcade of pillars running across it. The west chamber has a flat roof and the east has a transverse barrel vault. The east part, provided originally with three apses, was later transformed into a double-

apsed chamber after the collapse of the dividing wall between the central and the left apse, together with part of the vaulting in front of it. The original barrel vault has almost become a flat roof. Not discovered until 1957.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Signs of obliteration everywhere because the secco method was largely used. Completely destroyed up to the level of the rubble, which has now been cleared (cf. Illusts. 80 and 81 in Budde). Above this, any faces that can be reached from below have been scraped off. Very recently a series of faces have been touched up with drawing in red and lilac chalk, no doubt in order to obtain more attractive photographs. This includes nearly all the faces of the Church Fathers in the double apse (especially Gregory the Wonder-Worker. The one exception is Nicholas, in whose case the original drawing is still well preserved), Mary and many Apostles from the Koimesis, or Dormition of the Virgin, Mary in the Nativity and Michael on the north wall. It is hard to establish who was responsible for this piece of barbarity. The touching up appears to have been done before the rubble was removed. It can be identified in part in the first published photographs of V. Schamoni (cf. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Illust. 11 in Budde, Pantheon 19, p. 271, also Budde, Plate 82: St. Blaise).

Of the original painting in the central apse and left side apse only a few traces remain. In the spandrels between the central and the right apse we see portions of some holy warrior and between the left wall and the left apse parts of an Angel or a Saint, as well as a few vestiges of colour high up to the left in the double apse.

TECHNIQUE: After the rock had been carefully smoothed over, a thin coat of lime was applied as the opsis. The painting was put on to this in secco. The painting technique for flesh — apart from the additions made to the Church Fathers after the alterations in the double apse — was uniform and consisted of the glykasmos, then drawing in ochre, green shadows over this and finally white lights rather resembling impressionistic dots. A characteristic feature to be found nearly everywhere is the two or three lines at the corners of the eyes, radiating out from one point and curving downwards.

Judging by the line work and application of lights, the draperies were completed by the same painter. Over bright local tones we see white lights with — in whitish shades of green — shadows and ochre drawing.

In the case of dark local colours (rusty red) the shadows have been put on in an even darker tone and the lights as a transparent wash, so they are adapted to the tone scale and do not stand out harshly. Compare the technique of the painter in the Kılıçlar Kuşluk, Chapel 33, where the same method was used. We also occasionally find drawing in complementary colours (green on red, e. g., the sakkos of Constantine).

Only the Church Fathers in the double apse, who must have been done later, after the breaches occurring in the apse area, reveal a simplified technique. The drawing takes the form of sharp reddish brush strokes (still easily recognisable in the case of St. Nicholas) over a uniform glykasmos of light ochre. Just a few sweeping strokes have been added on the forehead and cheeks to supply the lights. For the recent additions in chalk, see above (a sharp brush stroke is part of the original and a fuzzy chalk mark is an addition). Eyes with lilac pupils (inserted in chalk) only occur in restored heads. In the original the eyes, like the rest of the drawing,

were put in with a brush in a reddish colour. The technical structure of the painting suggests that we should attribute the entire decoration, except for the later Church Fathers, to a single workshop with a master and journeymen. This goes against the view of Budde, who believed that he could detect a number of different masters not only in the scenes (e. g., the Transfiguration and the Crucifixion), but also in the figures of the Saints. The technical findings do not square with this theory. Moreover, the contrasts found by Budde can occur in different parts of one person's clothing. The master had various strings to his bow and, no doubt, left a great deal for the journeymen to do.

GOREME CHAPEL 3

SITUATION: Nowadays the road to Maçan passes along to the south of the chapel, but did not do so in the past. It cuts through a rocky projection and we find the chapel situated at the north-eastern end of that promontory, the characteristic feature of which is a steeply rising tower of rock in the middle. III

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 140—144 and I. 2, 600.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 39.3.

ARCHITECTURE: Originally the chapel was probably a broad chamber with apses (cf. Je II. 2, 415, No. 1), a narthex and side chambers. Of the actual chapel, only the back wall with the entrance (double arcade) from the narthex has been preserved (cf. I. 2, 300). As Jerphanion assumed, the narthex was bored into the rock later on, after the chapel. Jerphanion was still able to see the roof of the chapel, which has since fallen in completely (Je I. 2, 600). Jerphanion's plan contains a few errors, especially with regard to the side chambers. They have been corrected on our new survey plan.

DECORATION: The Prophetic Vision was portrayed on the roof of the naos, which has since collapsed. Jerphanion was able to see and describe it (I. 1, 141). On the south side Jerphanion noted a Boyhood of Jesus cycle which has also disappeared (Annunciation, Visitation, Journey to Bethlehem, Joseph and Mary). Of the figures of the Saints, those on the double arcade leading to the narthex are still in a fair state of preservation.

The only painting at all well preserved is on the roof of the narthex. It shows a large jewelled cross extending over its entire length and breadth on a ground adorned with floral scrolls and geometrical designs. The distribution of rinceaux and geometrical designs is artificial and purely schematic. Different painters were certainly involved in this work and they appear to have decorated their own areas with ornaments familiar to them, without paying any particular attention to their neighbours. The Forty Martyrs — of whom only fragments have survived — were portrayed on the walls of the narthex. At the end there was also a group of Saints, of whom only Theopistus is recognisable.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Practically everything of importance has been damaged by scraping. Figures of the Saints that still survive have suffered particularly from this. As mentioned above, nothing remains of the scenic decoration in the naos.

TECHNIQUE: The painting plaster consists of gesso and straw with an admixture of sand.

The colours we find are red, green, yellow and, very occasionally, grey. In essence this corresponds fairly accurately to the colour scale in Chapel 9.

Basing himself on iconography, Jerphanion assumed that the figural decoration was created after the cross decoration in the narthex. But there is nothing in the collection of paintings to suggest this. The fresco ground and the tonality are completely uniform. On the other hand, several painters were certainly involved in decorating the narthex roof, as has already been established. From the few vestiges remaining it cannot be determined whether several different hands were at work on the figural paintings. Jerphanion thought that the Forty Martyrs on the wall of the narthex (now destroyed also) were later than the paintings on the roof. As the Boyhood of Jesus cycle in the narthex broke off before the Nativity, Jerphanion concluded that its continuation must have been painted over with the Saints visible in his day. But in none of the painting still in existence to-day are there signs of overpainting or restoration. So Jerphanion's theories about the destroyed portions, where they can no longer be verified, are not very convincing either. From what we can see to-day the painting of the naos and the narthex was a single operation, although it is fairly definite that several painters were involved, and there was no restoration later on.

People were misled by Jerphanion's later dating of the figural paintings into thinking that the cross and ornament decoration in the narthex was an iconoclastic composition. This theory becomes impossible when we realise that the figural and ornamental cycles were executed contemporaneously.

GÖREME CHAPEL 4a

IV SITUATION: On the eastern edge of the Göreme valley, standing away out on a promontory. Visible to the east from No. 3 and easily reached over the slope.

LITERATURE: Not yet published.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

ARCHITECTURE: Naos with a single aisle and with seat niches in the north and south wall (of the five niches in the north wall, the two farthest to the west were hollowed out for burial purposes). A simple barrel vault on a pier.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The south wall has collapsed, apart from just a few metres in front of the apse, together with part of the floor and the barrel vault. So water, sun and wind have been able to do their worst.

Apart from the scenes that have been completely lost, there has been severe damage to the ones still visible. As a rule, only one or two figures in a scene have been preserved and only the upper half of them is recognisable in the western portion. Further harm has been done by stone-throwing. In the case of this particular chapel the loss is all the harder to bear as the paintings were of high quality.

TECHNIQUE: Lime or gesso with straw and an admixture of sand. On the local colour or flesh we find an abundance of white high-lighting and the elegant draughtsmanship evident here is a sure criterion of quality. There is also the drawing on the faces. On the draperies — in contrast to the white high-lighting — the shadows are marked in a tone that is rather stronger than the local colour. To soft green olive green is added and to light ochre a darker shade of this; in the case of grey we usually just have the white high-lighting and hardly ever a deeper shade of grey. The lights are painted on with extreme delicacy. The colours used (grey, green, olive green and red) mingle to give an impression of glittering hues.

The vestiges still remaining show uniformity in the painting. The work was probably done by one painter and was never restored.

GÖREME CHAPEL 4b

SITUATION: To the east of 4a on the ridge. This is one of the highest towers between the Göreme valley and Kılıçlar deresi and can be seen from the highway. V

LITERATURE: Unpublished.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

ARCHITECTURE: Of the irregular and simple rectangular naos with a transverse barrel vault, only the apse and a part of the left side wall have been preserved. The apse is flanked by two niches; there are three steps going up and a small window can be seen behind the altar.

DECORATION: On the apse vault we see a jewelled cross and flower-decked branches. At the bottom of the apse there are meagre remains of a figural painting, probably of Christ with two Saints. There are further figures of Saints adjoining this to the right and left. In the seat niche (with step) to the right of the apse a Saint is depicted and on the dividing arch there is a rinceau motif.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Almost completely destroyed.

TECHNIQUE: Lime and tow without any admixture of sand. The colours — red, green, yellow and grey — are now only recognisable from the ornamentation. Uniform in execution.

GÖREME CHAPEL 4c

VI SITUATION: To the north-west of 4a, where the ridge between the Göreme valley and the Kılıçlar valley begins to descend.

LITERATURE: Unpublished.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

ARCHITECTURE: A badly destroyed naos in a simple cruciform style, with an apse.

DECORATION: Apart from just a few traces of colour on the dome and in the apse, an Annunciation (placed over the angle) and a Visitation are preserved in the right cross arm, an Angel in the apse and a scroll ornament in the niche on the right-hand side of the apse.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Very fragmentary. The scenes that remain testify to painting of high quality.

TECHNIQUE: A thin layer of gesso and tow without any admixture of sand. The scroll is done in red, pink, white and bright blue. The dominant colours in the scenes are red and yellow. The painting is completely uniform, with no chronological differences or overpainting.

GÖREME CHAPEL 5a

VII SITUATION: To the south-west of 4a. From there we climb on to the ridge and go back in a southerly direction along the top. Can be entered through the apse.

LITERATURE: Unpublished.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple cruciform naos with four cross arms and three apses. Steeply built.

DECORATION: The only features preserved are an enthroned Madonna with Child in the left side apse, the figure of a Saint with smaller accompanying figures (pictures of donors?) in the right arm of the cross, and the face, hand and upper part of the wings of a majestic Angel in the left arm.

TECHNIQUE: Painted straight on to the rock, probably with a thin coat of lime applied first. In the faces a proplasma and a glykasma and shading can be discerned, but no white lights.

GÖREME CHAPEL 6

SITUATION: On the right of the highway to Maçan, high up in a tower and completely open. After Tokalı we first of all climb up from the highway along the left side, then go to the right into a chamber situated below the chapel. From here a chimney leads upwards. It is a difficult climb and rather dangerous (risk of falling). From high up at the back (Chapel 9) it is even more difficult to reach (risk of slipping and falling).

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 95—112; I. 2, VI; Swoboda 124.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 29—33.

ARCHITECTURE: The chapel was in a complete state of preservation at the time of Jerphanion's first visit, but has suffered serious damage since then. Part of the rocky tower in which the chapel is situated has broken off, carrying most of the chapel down with it. As a result, one of the most important cycles in Cappadocia has been irretrievably lost. Of the transverse naos, broken up by niches and possessing three apses, only the north wall and adjacent remnants of the barrel vault and traces of the left apsidiole have survived.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The cycle comprised at one time the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Proof of the Virgin, the Journey to Bethlehem, the Nativity and the Magi, the Innocent Children, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem (?), the Crucifixion, the Anastasis (or Descent into Limbo) and the Ascension. At both ends of the apex of the barrel vault there were four medallions representing the Prophets; of these, the ones on the north (David and Solomon) have been preserved. In the lower part there was a series of Saints (see the detailed description given by Jerphanion). The only ones still remaining to-day are the five most northerly Apostles in the Ascension, painted on what is left of the barrel vault, the tondi of David and Solomon at the apex of the vault, the Crucifixion in the large niche in the north wall, the Transfiguration on the north lunette, the Anastasis over the small side niche, also two Saints, on the left (Barbara) and the right, in the corner.

After all the terrible devastation in the chamber it is amazing to find the surviving paintings in such a good state of preservation. This is particularly true of the five Apostles in the Ascension. The remaining fragment of the barrel vault, which will also break off in the not too distant future (definite cracks can be seen, especially on the east side), has afforded them reasonable protection from the elements, which have been able to attack the north wall much more freely. The very few scratch marks visible show that the chapel was probably always fairly inaccessible and so people more or less forgot about its existence. A particular point to note is that the heads are almost undamaged, which is very unusual. In the Crucifixion the malefactors on the side walls of the niche are naturally the best preserved features as rain and sunshine cannot reach them.

TECHNIQUE: Gesso and straw with an admixture of sand as the painting plaster layer, with the opsis over it. The faces have been painted without a proplasma — there is only a glykasma with green mixed into it. On this we find slight high-lighting in white and drawing in dark ochre. The draperies appear in three gradations: local tone, white high-lighting and deepening of the local tone for drawing and shadows. In the high-lighting broken up geometrical shapes are used.

Small triangles accompanied by angle lines alternate with frayed out angle lines, small semi-circles, blobs (with protruding lines) and lines shaped like a Z or a lightning flash. There are also round hooks and curved lines. Two or three stress lines bring the whole picture to life. In this way an extremely complex and imaginative style has been evolved for depicting draperies. It cleverly steers a middle course between rigid geometry and the exaggerated and violent breaking up of geometrical shapes. The colours are confined to red and green (in groups they tend to be used alternately), also grey and ochre tones.

GOREME CHAPEL 6a

IX SITUATION: In the left side of the tower of Chapel 6, but rather lower down. We can reach it easily in a step or two from the road over a gentle slope. Concealed to some extent by an apricot tree.

LITERATURE: G. P. Schiemenz, *Eine unbekannte Felsenkirche in Göreme*, B. Z. 59 (1966) 307—333.

ILLUSTRATIONS: *ibid.*

ARCHITECTURE: Originally a cruciform naos, probably without an east arm. An apse was joined immediately on to it. To-day only the south arm of the cross is in existence and even this is choked with rubble up to the beginning of the vault.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Only three scenes from the cycle on the vault of the south cross arm have been preserved: the Presentation in the Temple, the Ascension (on the lunette) and the Annunciation. The Annunciation and the Presentation are in a fairly good state of preservation. In the case of the Annunciation about a fifth has broken away from the bottom part, together with the fresco layer. Only the topmost parts of the Ascension are still in existence. As a result of stone-throwing and scraping all the scenes have been badly damaged, especially the faces — as usual. The remnants of the Ascension have, moreover, been greatly affected by the weather and by rubbing.

TECHNIQUE: Over the very rough ground there is a relatively thick opsis on pure gesso. No admixture of straw or sand.

The colours used are red, yellow and grey and green for the ground planes. On the faces a proplasmos underlies the glykasmos, which has been applied as a mass. Over this comes the drawing in dark ochre. As far as can be detected to-day, white high-lighting is only present on the hair. The draperies have been executed quite differently. Over the splashes of local colour the drawing has been done in white. In addition we have clavi and ornaments (in the case of Simeon) in dark ochre. Deepening of the local tone to represent shadow is not to be seen anywhere. The high-lighting tends to terminate in triangular shapes. There are always two or three lines running between them. Only very rarely do we find comb effects or hatching.

Mary's robe gives us the impression of overpainting to begin with, but the local colour is

probably present under the high-lighting in secco and this has become gradually obliterated, as happened at El Nazar, Chapel 1. Otherwise no signs of overpainting or restoration can be detected. All the painting was done at once. Only one painter was responsible for what still survives.

GOREME CHAPEL 7

TOKALI KILISE

SITUATION: When the highway has almost reached the valley floor in a series of sharp bends you will see the entrance to the church with its great arch opening out on the right. X

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 262—294 and I. 2, 297—376, 603 f.; Rott 224—229; Weigand B. Z. 36 (1936) 337—397; Jerphanion, *La date des plus récentes peintures de Toquale Kilissé en Cappadoce*, *La voix des monuments* nouv. sér. 208—236; Budde 13—14; Swoboda 45, 124; Laf NN 130 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 61—69 and II, 70—94; Budde 42, 43, 48—50.

ARCHITECTURE: The largest composite unit occurring among the cave churches of Cappadocia. Tokali Kilise consists of four individual chambers all connected together:

1) The so-called Old Church is a longitudinal chamber with a single aisle and barrel vaulting. In front of it was an anteroom, most of which is now demolished. The east section of the Old Church was formed by a cross passage running behind arcades (as also in the New Church or in the Dovecote of Kılıçlar, Chapel 33) with a niche in the left terminating wall, of which two-thirds are still preserved to-day. From this cross passage the apse (or apses?) were hollowed out to the east. Jerphanion (I. 1, 263, Fig. 33) made a mistake when he reconstructed this east part of the Old Church. He omitted the cross passage as the significance of the rectangular marking over the niche (where the flat roof of the cross passage joined on) had escaped him (cf. also Je I. 1, 264, No. 2). The floor was higher originally and along both longitudinal walls there were seats which were also lowered later on. The part cut out for the first seat can still be clearly seen.

2) The so-called New Church was hewn into the mountain away to the east in the form of a broad chamber with a transverse barrel vault on two piers beyond the arcade and apse of the Old Church, with the result that the Old and the New Church now combine to give a T-shaped ground plan. The New Church is terminated on the east by another pillared arcade with a cross passage (flat roof) running behind it, from which we gain access to the three apses with niches in between. Round the entire main chamber run blind arcades, breached in the north to form the

3) Parecclesion of the New Church, a longitudinal chamber with a single aisle and barrel vaulting, an apse in the east and blind arcades running round it. The ground level of the Parecclesion is higher than the present level of the New and the Old Church. The markings in the lower part of the pillared arcade and the steps subsequently hewn out show that the level of the main chamber of the New and the Old Church was brought down at a later date.

4) A Lower Church on the basilica plan with four piers. It is situated one storey lower down and comes roughly in the middle of the Old Church. It begins in the left half of the Old Church and extends eastwards into the New Church. At one time it could, no doubt, be reached by way of the blind adjoining chamber on the left beside the Old Church. The order in which these chambers were laid out is not entirely evident to-day. The Old Church came into existence first. It was then widened to form the New Church with the Parecclesion. The third stage was the lowering of the floor in the Old Church and in the main chamber of the New Church. It is not known definitely when the Lower Church was hewn out. One would assume that it came after the Old Church, but almost certainly before the lowering of the floor which endangered its vaulting. It probably became choked with rubble at that stage and all memory of it disappeared.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Apart from the anteroom leading to the Old Church, which collapsed very long ago, the architecture is in an excellent state. But in two places the floor has fallen down into the Lower Church.

The paintings on the wall parts of the Old Church have naturally been scraped off and damaged by stone-throwing to a great extent. The remains have been defaced by a large number of names scribbled on by visitors. Stones have caused a moderate amount of damage to the barrel vault, with a very few exceptions (left half, a little way before the apse arch, the final scene of the first and second tier). The western half of the tier that is third from the bottom on the right-hand side, i. e., near the entrance, shows very serious damage to its colouring layer, probably owing to erosion by the wind. Except for a very few parts surviving at the front, the paintings on the right wall have all been completely destroyed by erosion.

The state of the New Church is not so good. Here large parts of the fresco mortar have come off entirely. These include the central portions at the apex of the middle and right-hand third of the barrel vault, from the frieze area over the blind arcades, especially the western sections and the scenes on the floor spandrels of the eastern arcades, the scenes on the wall areas between the apses, the lower parts of the central apse and the whole of the right side apse. The portions that remain have deteriorated greatly, occasionally as a result of stone-throwing, but chiefly because of the poor method of applying the colouring layer.

TECHNIQUE: The Tokalı Kilise has witnessed a whole series of painters working on it at different times and using different techniques.

To accentuate its architectonic divisions the New Church was originally given a simple geometrical decoration of lines in red and green. The plain earth colours (probably ochre and terre verte) were mixed only with lime and put straight on to the stone. Now that large parts of the later decoration have come off, the whole extent of the early work can be viewed. It is durable and could only be removed by chipping away at the walls.

As their plaster layer the paintings in the Old Church have lime or gesso and straw mixed with sand, everywhere less than 10 mm thick.

Painting of the flesh begins with the glykasmos, to which light and shade are added. Green shadows following the contours of the face and the red ochre drawing, white lights over the eyebrows and on the bridge of the nose and splashes of red running across the remaining parts of the forehead and cheeks create such a strong plastic effect that the parts nearest the front are bright and those melting away towards the back are darker. Black lips (especially in the lowest

tier on the left and in the Madonna from the Annunciation) appear to have been caused by blackened cinnabar. As this only occurs locally and almost exclusively in the bottom tier on the left in conjunction with other blackening, it can doubtless be attributed to later restoration work.

The colour scale ranges from yellow and purple ochre (*caput mortuum*?) through whitish grey and a delicate blue-grey (ground) to green. The dominant colours are the ochre tones, which appear in three to four gradations interspersed with green. If we have one dark tone beside another, the outline is occasionally incised with a brush line going right through to the white ground.

The internal drawing of the draperies is handled in two different ways. In one case a line of light on one side and a shadow line on the other, following the contours, seem to "burst" and send out opposing pencils of rays (the finest example of this is in the Angel from the Baptism scene). Individual parts are either divided off from one another or linked together with sweeping white strokes. But in other figures we see, inside the compartments marked off with these same lines, fairly sharply defined geometrical patches of light, shaped like triangles or blobs (best examples are John in conversation with the Disciples and Joseph in the Flight into Egypt). Large and rounded white lines bring out the shape of the whole leg. From these differences we might feel tempted to conclude that two different painters were responsible for this, but we are prevented from doing so by the presence of other figures in whom both methods are closely combined together, with one method reinforcing the effect of the other (Angel from the Annunciation, Joseph from the Nativity, Joseph from the Flight into Egypt, etc.).

The painting in the original niche of the cross passage, about half of which has been preserved, was applied to pure gesso without any admixture of straw and sand. The inner face is filled by a symmetrical floral ornament in green and red. In the Saint painted at the back of the niche we have, in addition to these two tones, a pink flesh tint modified only by ochre drawing.

In the vestibule the Apostles from the Pentecost scene, of whom only small fragments have been preserved, are the work of a different artist. Perhaps the vestibule was only set out in this manner at a later date. The great connecting arch, in particular, would have been hollowed out later on. As far as the drawing and colour are concerned, its ornamental painting belongs to that in the vestibule. Other tones, which we see in Chapel 9, suddenly make their appearance here — pastel pink, etc. The slender and indeed elongated proportions of the figures, which contrast with the squatness of those in the Old Church, represent another difference. As far as we can distinguish, drawing and lights are dovetailed together. We see this also in Chapels 4a and 9 and, in particular, at Çavuşin.

The sequence of Saints on the left (north) wall of the Old Church under the rather reduced barrel vault with its painted dentil pattern was executed at different times by different masters. The group consisting of the first seven, going from the entrance, is uniform. The dentil pattern painted above proves this. Over these seven the background between the beam-heads is red with dark foliage. Over the next group, Constantine and Helena, this background is green with red foliage. Differences in the nimbi and the size of the figures support this conclusion. The next figure on the right, St. Catherine, is by yet another hand. The painted dentil pattern has come to an end and is replaced by a dark rinceau on a red ground. Once again the figure has become taller. Farther to the right, two more Saints appear to have come from the same hand. The scroll band runs through under the plain red border (with white accompanying line) of St.

Jerome, who was subsequently painted over this, and vestiges of two nimbi can still be discerned to the right and left of the nimbus of St. Jerome. The fourth unit is St. Jerome, larger than life, who comes above the two overpainted Saints just mentioned. He extends very much further down and must definitely have come into existence after the floor level was lowered. Partly over Jerome and over the lower parts of Catherine and Constantine — and actually on its own fresco layer — we find what is probably the bust portrait or medallion of a Saint. Only vestiges of the nimbus, set with pearls, can be detected. All the layers are distinguished fairly clearly in colour from one another. Only the group formed by the first seven is uniform. In its bright portions of drapery with stiff, single-toned geometrical lights occur. The Imperial couple are dark and the more than life-sized representation of Jerome suddenly appears on a deep and dingy blue background, like the figural cycle of the New Church. The last layer over Jerome, Catherine and the Imperial couple, of which only fragments are preserved, shows a sudden reversion to bright grey and yellow tones.

A curious feature to be noted is the brighter zone starting just under the knees in the group of seven Saints on the left. For no immediately obvious reason this lower zone is distinctly brighter than the upper one. The line of demarcation runs along horizontally. But the brush strokes of the painting go through it. This is a problem similar to what we find in the Çarıklı Kilise, Chapel 22. Items installed later on (perhaps wooden pews of some kind) appear to have protected the portions of the painting situated behind them, with the result that only the upper parts have become dark.

Moreover, the timbre of the colours, the brushwork and the lights, based on only two unimaginative formulae, applied in turn, show that none of the layers on the north wall was produced at the same time or by the same hand as the Gospel scenes on the barrel vault.

The paintings in the New Church exhibit a technique completely alien to what we find in the rest of Cappadocia. To start with, the fresco layer is thicker than anywhere else — lime and straw between 8 and 15 mm thick with a slight admixture of sand. There is no opsis. The lime and straw layer has been smoothed over. Remains of the chopped straw are to be found here and there in the paint layer. Only the setting out and the composition of the paintings are comparable with those in other cycles. Colour, painting technique and brushwork are quite unique.

The setting out, as far as colouring is concerned, is characterised by the use of a deep dark blue ground with mottling nearly everywhere and grey ochre for the figures. The brightness of colour with which we are so familiar is reduced to painting of tones within a tone. Starting from grey, the painter creates dark greyish brown shadows more by an accumulation of drawing in ochre in the form of series of short lines and hatching than by actual shading. Pure white lights do not appear anywhere. Cloaks and similar garments are set out in dark ochre and drawn in black. Once again there is only a sparing use of lights and, when they do occur, they are transparent. The faces have been evolved from an ochre glykamos, the tone of which has been retained as the shadow part. Then, using white, the painter adds lights in the form of a transparent wash. Finally there is a sparing application of outlines and drawing in blackish ochre. The modelling has reached an unexpectedly high degree of perfection. In the colour scale luminous red and green are completely absent; yellow is seldom used (in place of gold). Occasionally the blue of the ground appears in draperies or hair. The very noticeable streaks to be seen throughout the painting

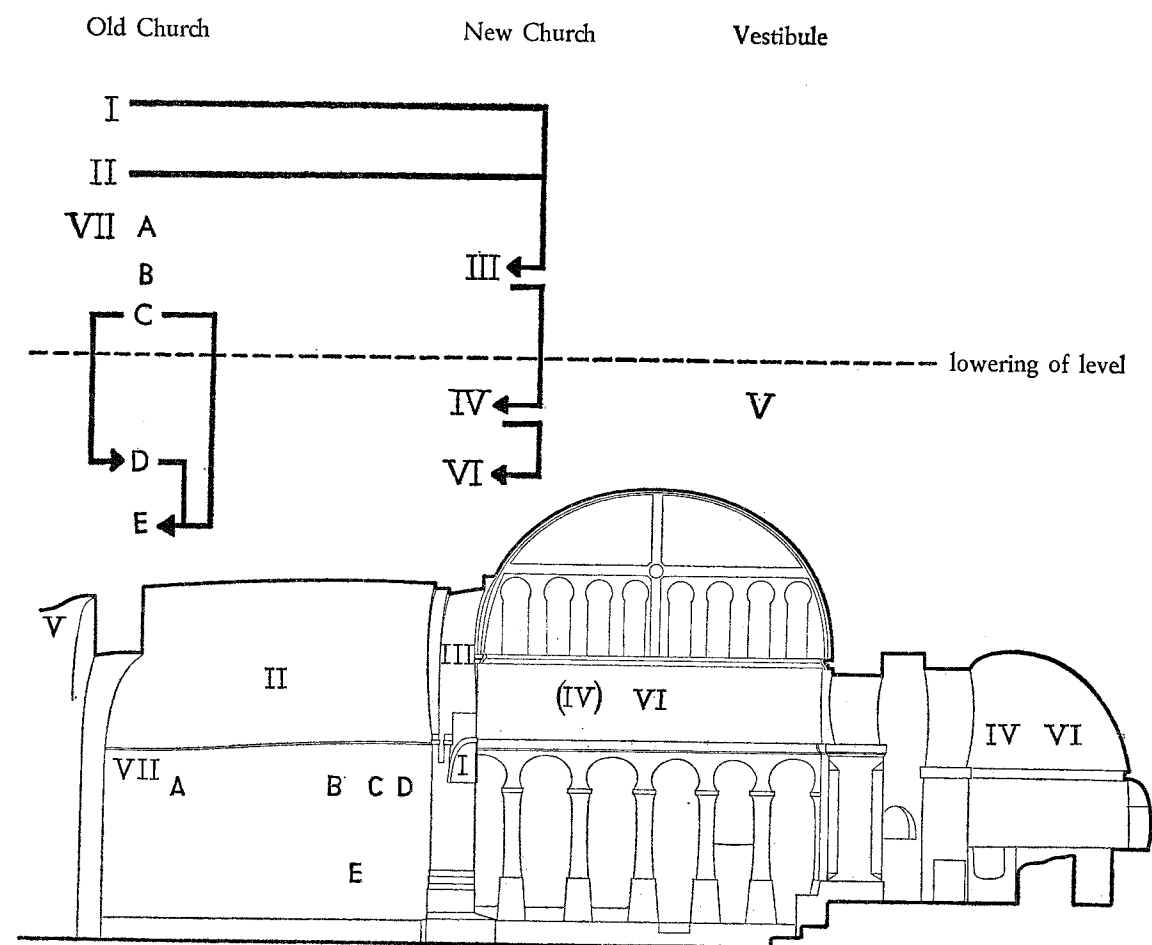
cannot be due either to the lime technique used for the fresco or to the type of pigment. They occur to a fairly equal extent everywhere. When the colours were applied, it would appear that a binding medium that particularly attracted soot and dirt was almost certainly used in addition to or instead of lime. There is a large selection to choose from, ranging from sugar and honey to non-drying waxes or oils, or possibly an unsuitable casein method. Only chemical analysis can help us to determine this more accurately. A colour sample has revealed wax and so we might feel like blaming that substance, but we cannot be certain as the sample was not actually taken from the wall, but was picked up in the cross passage in front of the apses. It might have come from a part that was comparatively low down and was marked by dripping candle wax.

From the whole of the painting we can pick out a very remarkable spot in the left (northern) side apse. On the right, below the conch cornice and its inscription, there is a wide strip where the colouring suddenly becomes completely different. We find red, pink, green, light ochre, light grey, bright dove blue, tones of olive green and pure white lights, whilst just beside it we have the accustomed dark grey, ochre and blue. Apart from the havoc wrought by man, these particular remains display a far healthier colour layer than any other part of the painting in the New Church, where the colour layer has, in fact, often become detached from the ground in small particles over large areas. Of course, a true, firm fresco was not used in either of the two layers. The layer with the bright tones does indeed represent pure lime painting, but it must have been applied to a partly dry ground as it is not resistant to water or wiping. The other residue resists wiping, but the lime has not formed a skin to bind it. Instead of this it has been fixed by other binding media or has been gone over with them afterwards. All this points to restoration of the original painting in the New Church, of which only a remnant has been preserved in its original state in the left side apse. All the rest appears to have been cleaned and repaired, i. e., with the exception of the setting out, the composition and probably the preliminary sketch as well, it must have been repainted entirely in accordance with instructions in the manuals for painters (cf. §20 in "Concluding Remarks to the Painstaking Pupil").

We shall use the following figures to refer to the different layers of painting:

- I The sanctuary niche in the Old Church
- II The Gospel cycle in the Old Church
- III The linear decoration in the New Church
- IV The Gospel cycle in the New Church, original
- V Paintings in the vestibule (Pentecost)
- VI Gospel cycle in the New Church, restored
- VII Saints on the north wall of the Old Church
 - A Group of Seven
 - B Catherine and two other Saints, painted over later
 - C Constantine and Helena
 - D Jerome
 - E A Saint with Nimbus

With the help of these we can make the following plan, which gives a clearer picture of the chronological sequence (the arrows indicate layers superimposed on one another; the tips of the arrows always point to the layer of overpainting, i. e., the layer coming on top):

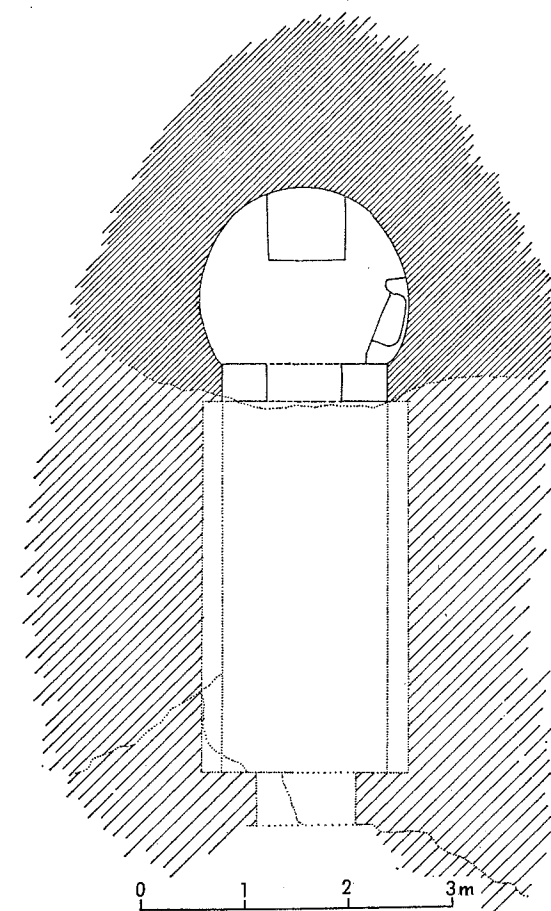


INSCRIPTION: On the cornice of the New Church between the blind niches and the frieze with Gospel scenes there is a detailed inscription in verse, much of which has, unfortunately, broken off. It names a donor called Constantine and contains a not entirely accurate description of the themes of the cycle, probably adapted from a previous model (cf. Je I. 2, 305—307).

There is a second inscription (differing in appearance from the first) in the left side apse. It names a certain Leo, son of Constantine (probably the Constantine referred to in the naos inscription). The Nicephorus also mentioned here at the beginning is definitely not the emperor of the same name, but a private individual whose identity cannot now be determined. Perhaps he was the painter (cf. Je I. 2, 307—309).

Masters' inscriptions, which are smaller and mention the month and the day, but not the year, can be seen in the Parecclesion (Je I. 2, 301 f.).

There are also inscriptions scratched on by visitors, especially on the north wall of the Old Church. There are many dates from 1650 (αχϒ) onwards (beside St. Jerome), including the 18th century (1766, 1787), and going up to recent times (cf. Je I. 1, 269, No. 2).



GOREME CHAPEL 8

SITUATION: In front of Tokalı, high up in the wall on the right. Now inaccessible. XI

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 113—120; I. 2, VI; Swoboda 124.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 35.3—4.

ARCHITECTURE: A pathetic remnant of the apse conch is all that is left of the simple longitudinal chamber of the chapel with seats running round it (same type as in Chapel 9) and an apse in which the altar and the priest's seat were on the right. As in the case of Chapel 6, this chapel was destroyed between 1912 and 1927 when large portions of the rock broke off.

DECORATION: The Prophetic Vision with the four Beings and Michael and Gabriel in the apse. Scenes formerly contained in the naos were the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Proof of the Virgin, the Journey to Bethlehem, the Nativity, the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Baptism, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Betrayal by Judas (?), the Crucifixion, the Anastasis and the Myrophores.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The Gospel scenes have been completely destroyed by the falls of rock.

A meagre remnant of the apse decoration has survived. It was very fragmentary even in Jerphanion's time. The upper parts of an enthroned Christ with a mandorla and including the hand and the Book are preserved, except for the face, which has been scraped off, and there are also remains of the two Beings at the top, ΔΕΦΟΝΤΑ and ΑΔΟΝΤΑ. Michael on the left has disappeared; the nimbus of Gabriel on the right can still be identified.

TECHNIQUE: According to Jerphanion there is a close link with Chapel 6, although it is by a different painter. As no faces have survived, the technical structure of the painting cannot be compared. The robe of Christ does not help us to reach any conclusion. White lights can be seen on it. The possibility of subsequent overpainting cannot, however, be eliminated. The only feature that could be used for comparison is the rainbow of the mandorla and that is not enough.

GOREME CHAPEL 9

THEOTOKOS, JOHN THE BAPTIST AND GEORGE

SITUATION: In the rock above the Tokalı Kilise and Chapel 8. Now only accessible from the high plateau behind it, through the apse. We leave the valley road shortly after the square beside the

XII

caretaker's house and the final curve to the right and, going along small footpaths for about 200 m, find the chapel without any trouble on the left-hand side.

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 121—137; Rott 229 f.; Budde 31, No. 46; Swoboda 124.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 34; Budde 46.

ARCHITECTURE: A roughly trapeziform naos with a single aisle, a seat running round it and a reduced barrel vault. A deep central apse (which has now collapsed almost entirely); on both sides small apsidioles. The narthex, divided up by niches, probably once had a side entrance. It leads on into the naos along a passage.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: As the chapel can easily be reached, there is a very great amount of malicious damage from stone-throwing (mainly in the upper parts) and from scratching and scraping, affecting the faces in particular (chiefly on the walls). Apart from the main apse, the effect of the elements has been slight. As recently as 1957 the inscription running along the cornice on both sides was quite literally in the same condition as during Jerphanion's visits. But in 1959 it was almost completely destroyed by wide scratches running right across it. So the overall impression is, unfortunately, not very good. Only if we make a close and careful study of the details and fragments that have survived can we appreciate the delicacy and refinement of the painting technique.

TECHNIQUE: The painting plaster is of lime or gesso and straw with an admixture of sand. The only colours used, apart from grey, are various red ochres and greens. There is no yellow.

The faces have all been painted without a proplasmos. After the preliminary sketch (here in ochre) a bright glykasmos has been applied in soft, light tones tending towards pink, with a great deal of white. This is followed by drawing in reddish ochre, shadows in light brown ochre and lights sparingly applied in white. The drawing (lips, outline of the bridge of the nose) has often been brought out in cinnabar which has since turned black. The draperies vary in colour between red or ochre, pink, grey and green. Strange to relate, the delicate white high-lighting is nearly always put only on pink, grey and green local colours. The under-robe of Mary in the Temple and on the Flight into Egypt is in dark grey (or blue that has turned black?) and the drawing takes the form of red ochre lines or white lights. The blackening in the upper part of Joseph's robe in the Flight into Egypt would once again appear to be due to the use of cinnabar. A very characteristic feature is the treatment of old men's hair. It is set out in a green local colour, divided into blob-shaped strands and then drawn in white and red from two sides in the form of rays. In the high-lighting there is a predominance of triangles, blobs and semi-circles with two or three lines emerging at the beginning and the end. Comb-shaped lights are very rare (e.g., the left shoulder of the Angel of the Annunciation). Shadow lines (on green they tend to be in complementary ochre) are often enclosed by rounded lights. Zigzag lights extended to a great length serve as a link between the different light shapes and a succession of three dab marks is used for filling in and completing the effect.

Apart from the assistants, only one master worked on the entire cycle. This is shown by the drawing.

INSCRIPTION: Published by Rott, corrected and checked by Jerphanion and Grégoire. I am reproducing here the inscription as it was before its almost complete destruction in 1957.

ΕΚΑΛΗΟΥΡ[ΤΗΘ]Η Ω ΝΑΟΣ ΤΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΗΑΣ ΘΕΩΤΟΚΟΥ + ΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΥΤΙΣΤΑ
+ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΩΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ + ΜΗΝΙ + ΙΟΥΝΗ[ΟΥ ΗC] ΤΑC + S + ΔΗΑ
CΥΝΑΡΟΜΗC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΑΝΑΡΟΝΚΟΥ Κ ΘΕ[ΟΙΠ]ΗCΤΗC ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΗ
ΙΠC Κ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ [ΙΙΝC] ΕΥΧΕCΘ[Ε ΥΠ]ΕΡ [ΑΥΤΩΝ].

The inscription, which begins on the front right-hand side above the apsidiole, runs along the cornice of the right wall and then the left and ends above the left apsidiole. The back wall has been left blank. The text names the patrons of the chapel as Mary, the Mother of God, John the Baptist and the Martyr George. The month of June in a 6th indiction is mentioned as the date, i. e., probably when the painting was completed. As donors requesting the prayers of the faithful Andron(i)cus and Theopistes are mentioned.

GOREME CHAPEL 11

ST. EUSTACE

SITUATION: About 100 m to the north-east of Chapel 9 in a rock divided into three prongs. Can be reached nowadays by an iron staircase. The chapel was a dovecote for a long time and could not be entered again till 1962. Key at the caretaker's house.

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 147—170 and I. 2, 600—602; Rott 230—232; Swoboda 124; Laf NN 127 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 36.1—2, 37.2—38.4; Rott 23.1.

ARCHITECTURE: A rectangular barrel-vaulted naos with a screened off apse (containing a wall altar and a niche behind it) and a square vestibule (now almost completely destroyed). Later on, probably after the small vestibule became filled up with tombs, a second vestibule was added on laterally to the left and a parecclesion was subsequently added to the naos — for the same purpose. To provide access, the left wall of the naos was breached three times. Two pillars from the wall survived. They have now been taken out — no doubt because they provided an easy source of building stone already trimmed into rectangles. In the parecclesion, as in the two vestibules, every inch of ground has been used for tombs. There are even wall-niche graves and a child's tomb has been placed in the passage between the first and the second vestibule. The parecclesion itself has a simple apse with a free-standing altar. In the naos a niche with an altar was afterwards carved out of the left wall of the apse and was also painted. The graffito gives a terminus ante quem for this.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Attempts have been made here too to obliterate eyes and faces by stone-throwing and scraping, but this damage is not on the same scale as in Chapel 9. Use of the chapel as a dovecote has kept the decoration in a good state. Just beyond the opening the entrance has been fitted with a barred gate. Only the paintings in the vestibule, the narrative of St. Eustace and other Saints (cf. Je I. 1, 148 f. and I. 2, 600 f.), including Constantine on horseback, have been completely destroyed or covered over with limewash by the owner of the dovecote.

TECHNIQUE: First plaster layer with an admixture of straw and sand. The colour scale includes yellow, probably a light ochre, in addition to red and green.

A proplasmos cannot be detected anywhere. The faces have been painted with a very bright yellowish glykasmos; the shadows have been done in reddish ochre and the drawing in dark ochre. High-lighting is seldom to be seen on flesh (hands in the Visitation). Hair is white or brown. Only on the draperies do we find a fairly crude form of high-lighting in white in addition to the shading, which has usually been done by deepening the local tone. On green garments (soldier in the Massacre of the Innocents, the High Priest in the Proof of the Virgin) there is occasional complementary drawing in red. Light and shade are always arranged in parallel lines that sometimes meet like the teeth of a comb. They are never evolved from geometrical shapes, but from the anatomy of the body. The clumsy hand of the painter does not, however, succeed in proportioning the figure in this way and giving us the impression that it is a real human body.

All the scenes reveal the hand of a single painter, both as regards the setting out and the drawing.

Only the second representation of the Annunciation in the niche on the left in front of the apse was done by another painter who worked with rather greater elegance and ability.

GRAFFITO: In the niche with the second Annunciation there is a graffito on the green background on the left that quotes a date:

+ EIC AYTPO[C]IN ΓΕΟΡ-
ΤΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ[ΝΟΥ] ΑΜΑΡΤΟ[ΛΟΥ]
CΦΩΔΡΑ ΕΥΧΕ-
CΤΕ ΑΥΤ[Ω] ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ
ΚΝ ΙΝΑ ΕΒΡΟ
ΔΥCΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΜΟΥ ΠΤΕCΜΑΤΩΝ
ΕΝ (ΙΜΕΡΑ) Τ[Η]C ΚΡΙCΕΟC
ΕΤΟΥC SXNZ ΙΝΑ[ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟ]C ΙΒ

The cosmic year 6657 with an indiction of 12 corresponds by our reckoning to the years 1148/49 (1st August to 30th September). The painting in the niche was therefore executed before this and the cycle in the naos even earlier. For the other graffiti see Je I. 1, 168—170.

GOREME CHAPEL 13

XIV SITUATION: Just a few metres to the right beside the highway and immediately below the parking place.

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 138 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

120 ARCHITECTURE: A rectangular chamber with an apse. A flat roof with a cross in relief in an oval frame.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Remnants of the roof with medallions of the Prophets are in a fair state of preservation, also parts of an Angel in the apse. Owing to subsequent extensions to the naos the scenes have been destroyed, except for a few traces of nimbi.

TECHNIQUE: The painting plaster has a slight admixture of sand. Judging by what has survived, red (or ochre) and yellow are the only colours definitely used. Green was probably present also (slight traces are still to be seen in the painted dentil pattern). Jerphanion's idea that the colouring closely resembles that at Elmalı (Chapel 19) is incorrect. The chapel is very much in keeping with the colourful tendencies of the so-called Archaic Group. Jerphanion stressed the presence of an intense blue in the ground, but nothing of this can be seen to-day. The light grey-blue corresponds exactly to that in Chapel 6. In many places on the roof a darkening of the grey-blue can be observed, but certainly not into an intense shade of blue — rather into a deeper grey. This seems to be intentional as these dark areas serve to outline ornamental forms, i. e., they are intended to accentuate the plastic effect. But the nature and character of the lights, in particular, which can still be studied adequately from what is left of the Angel in the apse, do not point in the direction of the Elmalı Kilise. The link between geometrical and realistic painting of light points rather in the direction of Tağar and the position of the Angel figure is also similar. The light on the bulge in the draperies below the Angel's waist has been combed out into a herring-bone shape. There are just a few well placed shadow lines to provide the contrast. On the thigh the lighting emanates from large triangular shapes that run gently outwards, becoming attenuated as they go. They are strung together by means of plain long lines, sharply drawn with notches. Good proportioning of the figure, elegant draughtsmanship and the plastic overall impression that is given all help to build up a real, life-like body. The ochre, pink and grey mood of the colouring is ideally in keeping with this. All in all, the loss of such painting is to be deplored.

There is no evidence for Jerphanion's parenthetical supposition that the painting was touched up at a later date. The only parts this could apply to would be the darker portions on the roof, already mentioned, but they are so much in keeping with the plastic tendency of this painting that they cannot be considered separately from it. From a technical point of view, they come under the white lights which round off all the painting, so there can be no doubt about their belonging to the cycle.

GOREME CHAPEL 15a

see LXXVI, p. 192

GOREME CHAPEL 16

SITUATION: Only a few metres up in the northern side of the great tooth of rock (Kızlar Kalesi) which to the south marks the limit of the large parking place beside the caretaker's house. Easily visible on the left as we come down.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 492—495.

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ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 134.3 and 135.2.

ARCHITECTURE: Originally a transverse rectangular naos with a transverse barrel vault and three apses linked with one another. The northern half of the chapel has been destroyed.

DECORATION: In the apse there is presumably a Deesis and in the south side apse only an Angel and four medallions with Saints are still recognisable. Busts of Saints between the apses. At the apex of the vault medallions of the Prophets (two preserved), on the vault and lunettes a Boyhood of Jesus cycle, of which only four scenes have been preserved: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Proof of the Virgin (the Journey to Bethlehem? the Nativity and the Magi? the Flight into Egypt?), the Presentation in the Temple. Below the vault area the legend of St. George is depicted in a narrow tier.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: As the paintings in the chapel, only half of which is still standing, have been exposed to the elements, we can see increasing deterioration from the edges inwards owing to water running down them. The faces have been damaged by stone-throwing. Apart from this, the Annunciation and the Presentation in the Temple are in an astonishingly good state of preservation.

TECHNIQUE: The painting plaster layer has an admixture of sand.

The only colours used appear to be various ochres, together with lime-white and grey. Drawing in darker ochre and lights combine to give a fine overall impression. The preliminary sketch was also done in ochre. No proplasma is to be seen anywhere. In the flesh the painting starts out from a light ochre glykasma and then come shaded parts in red ochre and brown ochre drawing. The tendency is always towards dark tones. White lights occur here only on the hair and hands.

Drawing of the drapery structures is rich and elegant. Where the robes fit tightly against the body only a sharp contour line with occasional indentation is painted. Close behind it is a series of comb-like lights. But, where the robe hangs loosely, lines of light and shade are used alternately. Triangular and round shapes are very seldom to be seen in the lighting.

GÖREME CHAPEL 17

XVI SITUATION: Inside the Kızlar Kalesi (cf. Chapel 16). Can be reached by a long passage, the opening of which is situated in the north of the rocky mass.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 488—491.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with four columns and three apses. In front of the central apse there is a well preserved templon.

DECORATION: Linear painting. The columns are red. On the north wall of the north cross arm there is a picture of Christ standing on a suppedaneum and holding the Book in His left hand and giving a blessing with His right.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The architecture is in an excellent state of preservation, except for a large hole in the south-west corner. The bottom and the right-hand portion of the picture of Christ have been damaged by water running down it and the face has been a target for stone-throwing.

TECHNIQUE: The picture of Christ has been painted on a plain layer of pure lime or gesso corresponding exactly to the frame. The colours used are tones of ochre and white. The flesh is painted with a glykasma (light ochre with some green added) and there is white lighting on top. In the modelling of the draperies straight lines of light, sometimes put in at an angle, have been used. There is no deepening of tone to indicate shadow.

GRAFFITI: Apart from the supplication inscribed on the bottom left-hand side of the picture of Christ, there are a number of dated graffiti, especially on the front left-hand column. They have been scratched into the red paint of the column and so provide a terminus ante quem for the architecture and linear decoration, but they bear no reference to the picture of Christ. In the invocations (Je I. 2, 489 ff.) the following years are mentioned: $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\delta$ — 6564 = 1055, $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\epsilon$ — 6566 = 1058, $\epsilon\phi\sigma\gamma$ — 6573 = 1065, $\epsilon\phi\pi\gamma$ — 6583 = 1074, $\epsilon\delta\lambda\eta$ — 6638 = 1129. In the last date the two middle figures are now illegible.

GÖREME CHAPEL 18

SITUATION: To the right of the road leading into the rock valley of Göreme proper, i. e., in the direction of the Elmalı Kilise (Chapel 19), Karanlık (Chapel 23) and the Çarıklı Kilise (Chapel 22), about 50 m to the north of Elmalı and beside the old caretaker's cave. XVII

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 486 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 134.1.

ARCHITECTURE: A broad double-aisled chamber divided by pillars and with three apses (same type as the Church of St. John, or Saklı Kilise, Chapel 2a).

DECORATION: Apart from the rough linear decoration, there is a series of individual pictures. On the right-hand side of the apse we see the noble and barbaric figure of Christ enthroned and on the right, between the central and the right-hand apse, a Virgin Hodegetria with the donor shown kneeling in front of Her on the right. These are followed by three equestrian Saints, Theodore, George and Demetrius, on the walls and a female Saint on the right-hand pillar.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Badly damaged by stone-throwing. Blackened also in parts by the smoke from shepherds' fires.

TECHNIQUE: Only the Madonna is painted on a layer of lime and straw or gesso that has been roughly spread on. The other pictures have been applied straight to the wall without much smoothing of the surface.

The painting is very crude on the whole. The best part appears to be the Virgin Hodegetria with internal detail drawn in black on a dark ochre ground and slight high-lighting (local colour mixed with white lime). For the flesh the painter has started out from a bright glykasmos and then gone on to the darker shadow parts and finally the drawing, which is in black.

GOREME CHAPEL 19

ELMALI KILISE
CHURCH WITH THE APPLE ORNAMENT

XVIII SITUATION: The first of the large cross-domed churches with four column supports. It is on the right of the Göreme valley proper and is indicated by signs.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 431—454 and 605—607; Rott 219—223; Budde 16, 20 f., 32 f., Nos. 70—76; Swoboda 126.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 112.1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 113—124, 135.3; Rott Illusts. 77—78; Budde 70—76.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with four columns, three apses and domes over every bay, nine altogether. The old entrance on the west is no longer usable because of the steep drop down to the valley. A new entrance has been made in the north wall on the right, beside the north-west pilaster (wrongly shown in the ground plan of Jerphanion as being in the north-west bay). In each of the three apses there is an altar leaning against the wall and on the right a priest's seat.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The gloomy forecasts made by Jerphanion (454) when it was converted into a dove-cote have not come true. This is one of the best preserved churches. The columns removed at that time (1927) — they caused the death of a workman — have now been replaced by new ones. Damage from scraping has naturally been worst in the lower parts. In the vault area the scraping has not had so much effect. The Pantocrator on the central dome, in particular, has been badly damaged by stone-throwing. Parts breaking off here and there do not spoil the overall impression to any great extent.

TECHNIQUE: The first linear decoration in red was painted straight on to the rock. The figural cycle is on a layer of lime or gesso and straw 2 mm thick.

The colour scale is relatively restricted compared with the so-called Archaic Group. The bright pinkish red colour has declined in importance and is only to be found in one figure away to the right, on the edge of the picture showing the Entry into Jerusalem, and on the painted columns between the Church Fathers in the apse. The clear, light green has almost completely disappeared also. But it does occur in the spandrel ornament of the front right- and left-hand angle compartments and also, combined with olive-green ochre, yellow and strong white high-lighting, in the figures of Gregory and Nicholas in the main apse. The green of the ground plane has been transmuted to olive-green ochre. Another green, this time a very cold shade with a touch of

yellowish green because of the golden yellow rosettes on the draperies, can be seen in the Angel (Phlogothēil) on the dome of the north-west angle compartment. Otherwise we find only yellow, grey and rusty red tones, i. e., ochre colours, in the draperies.

The problem of the painter is a difficult one to solve. Great variety can be seen, even in the draperies. On the one hand, we have lights applied in broad masses and gently tailing off and, on the other, we have strictly geometrical lights with a teased-out effect. There are also lights made up of a great number of vigorous brush strokes (for example, the boy on the right from among the three boys in the Entry into Jerusalem) or drapery structures with a minimum of drawing like a roughed out sketch (the boys farthest forward in the group who are spreading out garments in the same scene). Sometimes we find more than one of these methods used together, not only in the course of a single scene, but in a single figure. As far as the setting out is concerned, the head types all appear to come from the same preliminary sketcher. But, once again, as in the case of the draperies, we find contrasts in their execution that cannot be completely reconciled with one another. The majority of the faces (Gospel scenes, Prophets and many Saints) have the glykasmos applied in a mass. Over this come transparent lights and shadows marking delicate transitions from ochre to green. Only on top of this do we find drawing in dark ochre. The cheeks appear to have been applied partly in cinnabar. They are now black.

The scrolls of the Prophets (easily seen in the case of Isaiah and, in particular, David) have not been formed by leaving the white ground blank, but have been applied in the local colour of the draperies. On top of this the scroll with writing and line divisions has been painted in white.

Apart from this master of the Gospel scenes, whose painting technique has just been described in connection with the faces of the Prophets, a second master was at work here. In contrast to the sedate, academic master of the Gospel scenes he had an expressive and almost violent style. In the Entry into Jerusalem he painted the garment of the boy on the right, whom we have mentioned already, with hard and rapid brush strokes. Here we can follow his brushwork exactly. He also painted the faces quite differently. The eyebrows are almost continuous and the eyes have a hard look in them and — from a technical point of view — he went over the dark outlines and the drawing with additional white lines. This can be seen in the treatment of hair, in outlines and in the eyebrows, eyelids, lips and hands. Everywhere the hard, dark outline of the master of the Gospel scenes is subdued and finished off with a brighter tone. This being so, we must attribute to him all the Angels and the Pantocrator on the domes (Phlogothēil is a very typical example). Figures of the Saints have also been painted by him, for example, St. Probus.

In the ornamentation his style can be recognised above all in the rinceaux. Here the vigorous lines of light, some of them broken up into a Z-shape, can be clearly seen. The apple ornament would appear to have come from him too.

The overpainting or restoration referred to by Swoboda for reasons unknown cannot be seen anywhere.

GRAFFITI: There is no founder's or donor's inscription to indicate the age of the paintings. A series of later graffiti by visitors provide a terminus ante quem. Years from 1717 (on a column on the east side), which is the earliest date, up to the present time have already been noted by Jerphanion (453).

GOREME CHAPEL 20

CHAPEL OF ST. BARBARA

XIX SITUATION: Beside Elmalı (Chapel 19), but on a higher level. Entrance from the south.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 484—486; Budde 15, 31, Nos. 51 and 53; D. Wood, *Byzantine Military Standards in a Cappadocian Church*, *Archaeology* 12 (1959) 38—46.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 133.1; Budde 51 and 53.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with only two columns, i. e., a hybrid type (cf. Çarıklı Kilise, Chapel 22), a cross between a simple cruciform naos in the western part and a cross-domed church (with angle compartments and columns) in the eastern part. Three apses.

DECORATION: The original red decoration with an imitation of squared stone and rich ornamentation of the arches. A striking feature is the painting of standards (also in the main apse; cf. the article by D. Wood).

Later a Pantocrator was added in the main apse by a very crude hand, also in the left cross arm the equestrian Saints George and Theodore on horseback (with an invocation inscribed by a presbyter called Phalibon and a certain Marulineon) and a female Saint, together with the Virgin and Child, and in the west arm of the cross a picture of St. Barbara.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: No very great damage apart from scratched out eyes.

TECHNIQUE: Only a thin coat of slaked lime was applied to the smoothed rock and on this the painting was done in red ochre with just a little black and outlines in white (!).

GOREME CHAPEL 21

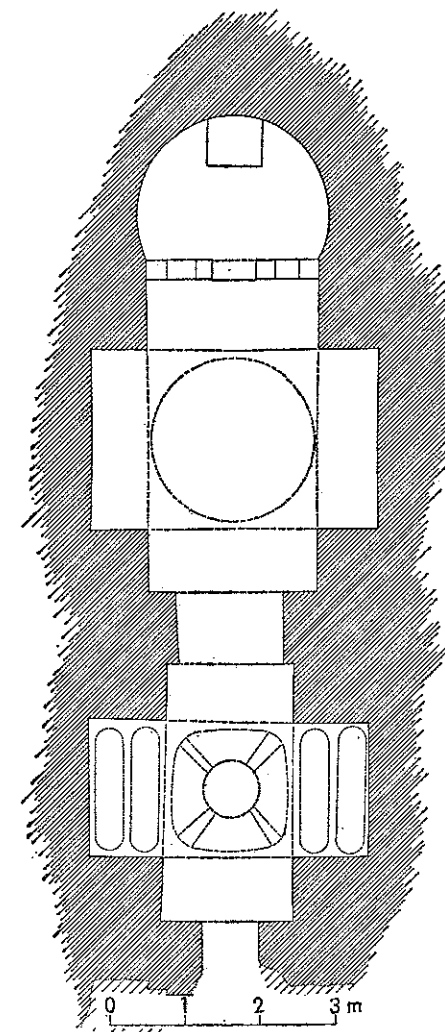
XX SITUATION: In the projecting promontory of rock to the west of Chapel 22 (Çarıklı), at a lower level.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 474—478; Rott 219.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 133.3.

ARCHITECTURE: A domed cruciform narthex is followed by a larger naos of the same shape with a dome and an apse.

DECORATION: Only the eastern part contains figural decoration. On the apse conch there is a Deesis and below it medallions with the Church Fathers (Gregory, Basil, John Chrysostom) and in the middle a medallion with Christ (Mandylion according to Rott). In front of the apse we have Michael in the middle, Constantine and Helena on the left and Nicetas and Sisinius on the right. On the south wall of the right cross arm we see St. George on horseback, on the east wall Procopius (?) and in the left (northern) arm of the cross Theodore. Under Nicetas and Sisinius there is a picture of Catherine with the donor Anna.



Michael medallion at the apex in front of the apse. In other cases we generally find only darker drawing put on over a red local colour.

With the exception of the donor's picture of St. Catherine, which was added later, and the divergent features found in one of the Church Fathers, the chapel was painted by the same artist who painted part of Chapel 28. This is shown by comparison of the Constantine and Helena groups.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The faces of the Church Fathers have been completely destroyed. In the Deesis a large piece has broken off on the left, including parts of the head of Christ. In the other figures attempts have been made, in particular, to throw stones at the eyes.

TECHNIQUE: With one exception — Catherine with the donor Anna — the figures have been painted straight on to the smoothed rock after application of a thin coat of lime. Only the picture of St. Catherine rests on its own special layer of lime or gesso and tow, applied later.

The colour scale is restricted to red and yellow ochre. The drawing is in tones ranging from dark ochre to black. There is an abundance of white high-lighting on the faces, applied as transparent patches. Pure white lines are also used for high-lighting. The painter starts with a greyish undercoat (proplasmos), perhaps with a very slight admixture of green, then puts on a white transparent wash and finally lights and drawing. Green occurs only once in one of the Church Fathers with a white robe. This medallion is also differentiated by its red ground from the others, which have a light ochre ground. We are tempted to conclude that another artist was responsible. Similar white high-lighting is found only on the wings of the

GOREME CHAPEL 22 ÇARIKLı KİLİSE - CHURCH WITH THE SANDAL IMPRINT

SITUATION: It is away at the back of the valley of Göreme and can be reached by an iron staircase. On the road running anti-clockwise through the valley behind the Karanlık Kilise, Chapel 23. **XXI**

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 455—473; Rott 216—219; Budde 16, 20 f., 33, No. 77; Swoboda 126.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 111.2.4.5, 112.6, 125—132; Rott Illust. 76, p. 218; Budde 77.

ARCHITECTURE: Combination of a cross-domed church in the eastern part and a simple cruciform church without angle compartments in the western part. So only two column supports are necessary (cf. Chapel 20). Greatly distorted proportions, especially in the west. Eastern portion with three apses containing a wall altar and a priest's seat on the right.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Although the whole of the decoration has been preserved, nearly all the faces have been at least damaged and most have been destroyed. In the lower parts, which are within easy reach, scraping has been the cause and in the upper parts stone-throwing. The Angel medallions in the main cupola, also a few heads from the Betrayal by Judas and the Transfiguration and those of the flute-players in the Nativity have suffered least so far.

TECHNIQUE: Fresco mortar with an admixture of straw and plenty of sand, giving virtually the appearance of dried clay. This is because volcanic ash was used as sand.

The colour scale is mainly keyed to ochre, but bright red tones are common (e.g., Evangelists on the dome spandrel) and even shades of pink are occasionally to be found (Pharisees in the Betrayal by Judas). The ground plane is green by preference, but this is no longer a light plant green, but a green that has probably been dulled down with a little ochre. Contrasting with the predominating ochre tones we have cool, steely grey-blue backgrounds. This colour is often used for draperies too. In the draperies we once again find tones of golden ochre and sparing use of white (as local colour). The technical structure of the painting is completely in keeping with that used by the Gospel scenes master in the Elmalı Kilise (Chapel 19). A characteristic of his is that he seldom ends with white lights, but with the darker outline and the drawing. This structure can also be seen in the rinceau; first of all, the grey parts are painted, then come the red parts, then the white lights and finally the black stem. This characteristic feature (black outline and drawing actually over the white high-lights, especially in the wings) is to be observed throughout.

No overpainting can be detected, but one peculiarity already found at Tokalı (Chapel 7) needs to be explained. On all the walls the bottom third of the paintings has stayed rather brighter than the rest. This area can be marked off with a line. The lower part might have been restored later because of the greater amount of rubbing there. But this is contradicted by the fact that a good deal of it goes over the line and both parts have features characteristic of a single hand. Another explanation would be that this lower part had been covered by some kind of wooden contrivance and so remained fresher than the other painting, which was subjected to dust and dirt, and did not darken so much as the part exposed to the light. In many places brush marks can be seen to start in the higher and darker part. A third possible explanation might come from the way in which the workshop functioned. The ground plane and the background are marked off from each other by a red line in the preliminary sketch. This goes right through everything (particularly clear in the picture of Constantine and Helena). But here in this corner, perhaps owing to lack of agreement among different preliminary sketchers or because one person had worked his way right round (this would represent the starting and the finishing point), the ground plane seems to have been brought a little lower down, so the background had to be extended downwards later on. The first explanation (restoration) can be ruled out completely because the same master continued the figures downwards and the same hand can be identified in all the details, but the other two explanations are not absolutely convincing either.

GÖREME CHAPEL 23

KARANLIK KİLİSE - DARK CHURCH

SITUATION: If we follow the road running from Elmalı in an anti-clockwise direction through the deep valley, we come to a projecting promontory of rock. Away up on the right we can see the remains of the facade of a monastery. Below are refectories. We go along a winding passage with steps and so enter the narthex of the church, the only window in which is situated over the entrance steps.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 393—430; Rott 212—216; Budde 16—20, 32, Nos. 56—69; Swoboda 126.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 96—110, 111.1 and 3, 112.7; Rott Illusts. 73—75; Budde 56—69.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church of the four-column type with six domes and three apses. Half-columns at the four corners and in the eastern part. Running rather obliquely towards it there is a simple rectangular narthex with a burial chamber adjoining it on the right. The church has no direct source of light, but is lit indirectly and to a meagre extent by a window at the north corner of the narthex.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The narrow and precarious portion of wall, shaped like a wedge, between the door to the naos and the south-east corner of the narthex has collapsed. The three columns cut out when the chapel became used profanely as a dovecote (1927, cf. Je 429 f.) have recently been replaced by new ones. The prediction that the well preserved paintings would become an almost total loss has, like the Elmalı prediction, not come true.

Here too the lower parts of the paintings have been almost completely destroyed, but those on the vault and dome area are in an excellent state of preservation. The gloom of the inner chamber, which is completely in darkness, appears to have been a great handicap to the vandals, even though it has not kept them away altogether. The stones thrown at the vaults and domes have been rather poorly aimed and have usually done relatively little damage.

TECHNIQUE: The fresco plaster consists here, as in the other two cross-domed churches (Elmalı and Çarıklı), of lime or gesso and straw with an admixture of sand.

In the setting out of the scenes, figures and faces we see everywhere an artist who was familiar with the painting of both the Elmalı masters. He adopted few of the characteristic features of the master who painted the Pantocrator and the Angels, especially as far as the technical side is concerned. His method of breaking the very dark outline and the drawing by superimposing a line in white or a bright colour has not been used here, but the way in which the Angels and the Pantocrator were set out and conceived has certainly been adopted. The Gospel scenes master doubtless had a greater influence on the painter of Karanlık, not only in the setting out and the general mood of the faces (cf. the Prophets), but, above all, in the technique (e.g., formation of Angels' wings, in which the drawing once again comes on top of the white lights). We can therefore assume this to have been the work of a pupil of the Gospel scenes master from Elmalı. The rinceau here certainly shows the influence of Elmalı (for example, in the use of yellow), but the lines of light are put on shakily and the rinceau itself is not so expertly made up of different layers of colour. It cannot be denied that there is a certain reversion to the rinceau of Çarıklı

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with its spine running right through in dark drawing. In the Elmalı version not a single line runs through the entire rinceau, but every part grows naturally out of the one before and in spite of, or perhaps because of, this it joins up to form a circle.

A completely new feature, compared with the other two, is the colouring in the Karanlık Kilise. The colour spectrum has, on the whole, been shifted very much in the direction of ochre and dark blue-grey, so the name of the church is appropriate on that account too. The ochre tones range from bright yellow ochre to medium and so to deep brownish red (upper garment of Mary in the Ascension). There is also a sparing use of pinkish red lower garments (in the Apostle group on the right in the Ascension). The grey tones may brighten to a light green colour and this becomes an ochre tone of olive green in the shadow and white in the lights. There is no explanation for this abrupt darkening of the entire colour scale. However, the connection with the colouring in the restored parts of the Kılıçlar Kilise (Chapel 29) is clearly evident. It would appear that this work was restored by the same workshop. But ought they not to have kept closer to the old colour scale of the Kılıçlar Kilise? One explanation might be that this painting darkened more than others owing to the type of binding medium used, or the almost total exclusion of light from Karanlık might have caused it to darken. But, be this as it may, a new master was certainly at work here — if we exclude a series of ornaments which may have been executed by people from the Elmalı workshop. Of the subsequent restoration assumed by Swoboda to have taken place there is no sign, although this would explain a great deal.

GRAFFITI: A whole series of graffiti by visitors, including several dated ones, the oldest of which mention the years 1629, under the Crucifixion; 1650, the Raising of Lazarus; and 1655, under the Nativity (cf. Je I. 2, 429).

GÖREME CHAPEL 28

XXIII SITUATION: On the road from Elmalı (Chapel 19) to the Karanlık Kilise (Chapel 23), where it comes to the wall of rock in the south-east and bends round it to the left. It is now called the Yılanlı Kilise (Dragon Church) because of the dragon slain by the equestrian Saints George and Theodore.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 481—483; Budde 15, 31 f., Nos. 52, 54—55; Swoboda 125.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 133.4, 134.2 and 4, 135.1; Budde 52, 54—55.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple barrel-vaulted rectangular chamber with an apse (left side apse only started) on the broad side and the entrance on the narrow side. Over the corner there is a door into a side chamber. On the narrow side opposite the entrance a side chamber with a flat roof was hewn out at a later date and could be reached through a triple arcade.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The figural ornamentation superimposed on the red decoration of the chapel consists of a series of different Saints, in addition to a Deesis in the apse, and has survived on the whole without being too badly damaged.

TECHNIQUE: The painting has no proper fresco ground, but was put straight on to the smoothed rock over a coat of lime. The imitation ashlar pattern originally painted straight on to the stone shines through everywhere to some extent, most of all in the figure of St. Onuphrius. At least three artists worked on the figural paintings, two of them contemporaneously. St. Onuphrius was the first Saint to be painted. Here the ground is lime-white, mixed with a little greyish black. On the glykasmos there is drawing in fairly light ochre and the few lights are put on as thin lines. Shadows are rendered by patches of delicate green and the hair of old men is drawn with green lines. Warmer areas of flesh (bridge of the nose) are done in a light and delicate red like the bush (with dark ochre outlines and white internal drawing) which conceals the nakedness of the Saint.

The second figural layer does not have the whitish grey ground used for St. Onuphrius, but a dark grey ground. The ground plane is now blackish instead of an ochre colour. This painting clearly comes over the St. Onuphrius painting. Two artists have been involved. Next to St. Onuphrius comes the painter of St. Thomas who put an abundance of white lights on the grey under-robe and bright red upper garment. Then we have the painter of the other Saints (Basil, Onesimus, George and Theodore, Constantine and Helena, Christ with the donor). In the draperies he only used lights applied in broad smears and not radiating out in pure white, but subdued with local colour. His glykasmos is grey, mixed with an extremely small amount of ochre. On this we only find shadows and drawing, both in a dark greyish black with dark ochre applied underneath. There are white lines of light on the bridge of the nose, the outer ear and the folds at the sides of the nose and at the corners of the eyes and lips. This painter and the painter of Chapel 21 are identical.

GÖREME CHAPEL 29

KILIÇLAR KİLİSE

SITUATION: In the first side-valley of Göreme to the north-east, shortly before it narrows down, just a few metres up to the left. On the right is a small retaining wall for gardens lying at a higher level than the road along the bed of the stream. To reach the church we pass Chapel 11 and the present entrance to Chapel 33 (Kılıçlar Kuşluk). We follow the footpath along, or alongside, the ridge between the two valleys. At a suitable point we undertake the short, but laborious climb down into the fields lying below us on the right and go diagonally back over the bed of the stream to the chapel, which is visible from the place where we go down (apricot tree beside the entrance).

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 199—242; Rott 234—236; Swoboda 126.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 43—58.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with four columns (now complete once more) and a large central dome. The eastern angle compartments are also domed; the western ones have only a flat

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roof. Three apses with a wall altar, the middle one having two seats for priests. There is a seat running right round.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Much of the painting on the dome and in the main apse has come down, together with the fresco layer, probably as a result of stone-throwing. Apart from this, very serious damage can be seen everywhere — on the walls because of scraping and on the vaults because of stone-throwing. In the lower wall tiers the faces and many of the figures have been systematically obliterated. Fortunately, the stone-throwers have not been so successful.

TECHNIQUE: Gesso and straw with a considerable admixture of sand.

The flesh painting shows no proplasmos. A bright pink glykasmos forms the ground and the drawing is done on this in ochre. Slight patches of transparent light occur on the cheeks and the bridge of the nose and over the eyebrows. In the draperies the treatment of light and shadow parts is excellent. They are sometimes rigidly separated (e.g., the sunk-in lap area of the seated Apostle Simon from the Feast of Pentecost) and sometimes they are dovetailed together (in the figure of James sitting beside him) and are fully and accurately adapted to suit the posture and the draping of the material. Rigid formalism is largely avoided. In spite of this painter's bold touch and his comparatively sparing use of light figurines, the overall impression we obtain is of an actual body and accurate representation.

At a later stage the pendentive and arch area and the area nearby (and part also of the cross arm vaulting) were painted over in the colour scale of the Karanlık Kilise (Chapel 23) in secco (the colours are not washproof). The extent of the restoration can be seen from the accompanying sketch. The restorer, or restorers, managed to adapt their brushwork largely to suit the old material. The drawing and the lights were taken over completely. It was a question of "touching up" the old paintings which had become soiled in these areas probably with soot from lamps or candles and were then "cleaned". It is difficult to say whether they originally kept more closely to the old and brighter colour scale during this "touching up". Unsuitable binding media used in this new painting, which was applied in secco, may have caused it to darken more, which may be why these parts stand out specially to-day. The mottling sometimes found on these freshly painted parts appears to point in this direction.

The key places where the old painting and the repainting can most easily be differentiated are:

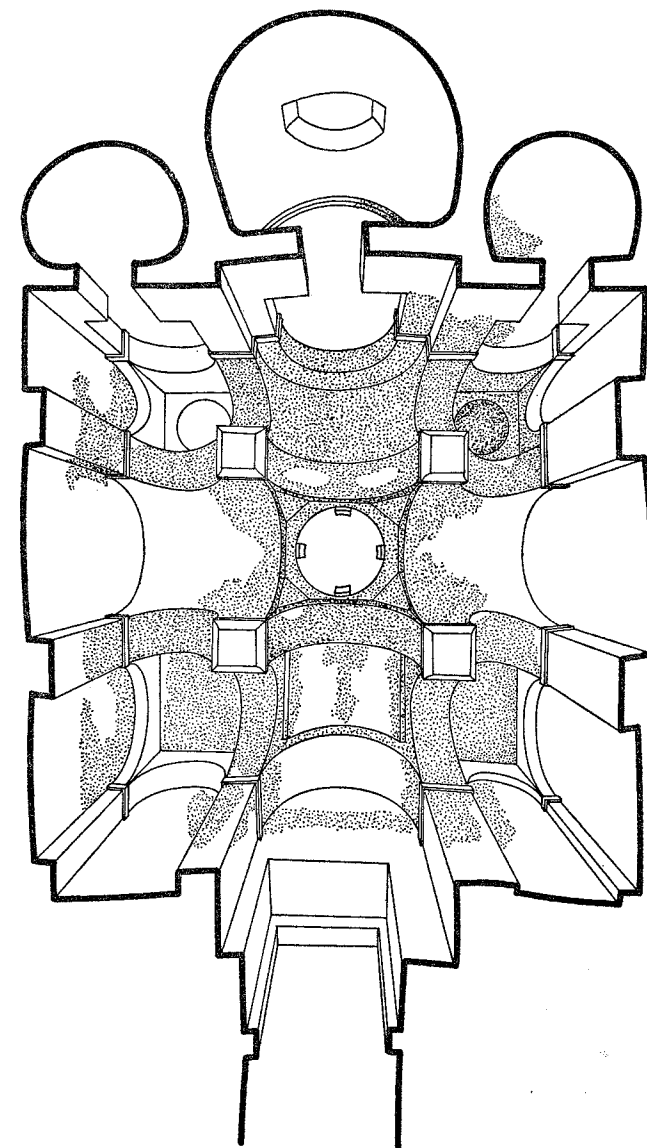
1. The left apse conch. Here the right-hand portion of the bright green ground plane was repainted in (what is now?) a darker green. At the same time the green was modelled in black (probably applied without binding media, as it can be wiped off very easily) with a border at the upper and lower edge and reckless sweeping strokes in between, which are concentrated to form a mass.

The same applies to the main apse where the bright green ground plane of the Prophetic Vision is at the edge turned into a dark green carpet with a black pattern for Michael.

2. The capital and arch of the south-east column. A piece of the capital was broken off, probably while the church was actually being hewn out, but certainly before the painting was done (perhaps when the scaffolding was put up?), and it took a corner of the arch down with it. Afterwards, during the painting, St. Elpidius was painted obliquely downwards over where the broken

off piece had been. During restoration a corresponding piece was put in by means of pegs (three peg holes still survive) and it was given a fresh coating of fresco. But to make a better join the opsis at this point was taken over the old painting (everywhere else the painting was completed and touched up in secco), so St. Elpidius to-day stands on a new opsis over the old one. The whole capital was also repainted. The pegged corner has fallen off again in the meantime and the original painting underneath, done on the slant, has come into view again.

3. The south wall, middle tier. Going from the left pilaster capital, a little extra painting was added to the scene showing the meeting of John and Jesus, i.e., the right foot of John is on dark green with black. In the scene showing the Healing of the Blind Man down in the bottom tier the ground has also been painted over with greyish black and the ground plane with greenish black as far as the outline of the Apostle Thomas.



Occasionally we are even tempted to assume that overpainting was done twice in a number of places. For example, the apse cornice was painted over on one occasion in dark red. On the left of the great oblique crack in the apse it was painted over once again in a darker colour. This links up, round the left-hand pilaster in front of the apse, with the other new versions and is in keeping with them as far as the tonality is concerned.

GÖREME CHAPEL 33

KILIÇLAR KUŞLUK

XXV **SITUATION:** High up in the valley wall opposite Chapel 29 and only accessible from the Göreme side. We follow the footpath as far as Chapel 11 and continue beyond it, usually just a little way below the ridge. The entrance is on the right-hand side. After an antechamber in a state of partial collapse we come on the right through a small door into a gallery protected by a railing and situated high up above the Kiliçlar deresi. At the end of this we turn to the right to enter the church. We can also reach the entrance to the cave by climbing right up from the road below Tokalı and making straight for the ridge.

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 243—253.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. I, 42.4, 43.1—2 and 59—60.

ARCHITECTURE: A rectangular naos with two longitudinal barrel vaults of unequal breadth and niches in the walls. In the east behind pillared arcades, partly demolished, there is a cross passage roofed over with three short longitudinal barrel vaults. Adjoining this is the combined triple apse termination of the church. In the western part two entries to a burial chamber were added subsequently and then driven further out, as a source of good building stone. The whole of the eastern part, including the cross passage, lies slightly higher than the naos and is reached by steps. The pillared arcade, which is open above the final moulding right up to the barrel vault, was probably intended as a templon.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Part of the right side apse has fallen outwards and the dividing wall of the central apse has also collapsed almost entirely. On the right a large part of the stairway in front of the templon arcade has gone down into the next chamber. There are deep, wide cracks running across the entire church and splitting the barrel vaults. The chapel will sooner or later be destroyed when large portions of the rock break off and drop down into the valley, which falls away perpendicularly at this point.

Owing to its use as a dovecote for many years (it could only be visited again from 1961 onwards), the paintings are, on the whole, very well preserved. On both sides of the large crack in the barrel vault the painting has been washed off right down to the rock by running water and the faces of the Saints that could be reached from down below have been scraped off. Other parts of the decoration are well preserved.

TECHNIQUE: On the carefully smoothed rock there is only a thin coating of lime opsis which has not been mixed with anything. The artist painted straight on to this.

In the faces the master started with a glykasmos of medium light ochre. Then he added dark patches. The shadows are in a reddish tone and the drawing is in ochre mixed with black. Pure white lights do not occur except in the whites of the eyes. For lights on the flesh the two basic colours of bright yellow ochre and red are mixed with white. This technique produces very finely graduated, but perfectly uniform flesh tones, which are given shape by the drawing.

The painter's drapery technique is similar. Here too we usually find on the local colour shadows which follow the drawing, sometimes in tones close to it. When yellow ochre is the local tone, reddish shadows are used. But we also find pure white lights standing out here. On a very dark local tone, for example, in the Madonna, pure white is avoided, but the local tone is mixed with white and so transformed into light. This prevents the figure from falling apart. The lights, on the whole, no longer appear to be drawn in a sharp and pointed fashion. They are done in a broad sweep, sometimes in a casual and shaky manner. The techniques for the flesh and the draperies aim at the same effect and so should be attributed to a single master. Moreover, the same type of figure and face is used throughout the cycle.

INSCRIPTION: On the west wall cornice, on either side of St. George, there are two donors (Nicantrus and Eronicea) with inscriptions.

On the left:

ΥΠΕΡ ΑΦΕΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ
ΤΗΣ ΔΟΥΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΡΟΝΙΚΕΑΣ

On the right:

ΥΠΕΡ ΑΦΕΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΝΤΡΟΥ

ÇAVUŞIN

THE DOVECOTE

SITUATION: From Göreme we take the road going into the valley towards Maçan. Where it crosses the dried-up bed of the stream, which leads to the left towards Chapel 1 (El Nazar), we leave it and follow that sandy watercourse towards the right over rather bumpy tracks. Still on the bed of the stream, we pass the village of Çavuşin and then see a large slab of rock looming up on the right. The church is inside this. It is looked after by a bekci from the village. An iron staircase takes us to the door, which he will open for a small fee. A new and better road has recently been built from Maçan-Avcılar to Çavuşin.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 520—550; Budde 14 and 30, No. 36; Laf NN 128—130; Swoboda 124.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 138—143.2; Budde Illust. 36 (narthex).

ARCHITECTURE: A large single-aisled naos with a high longitudinal barrel vault and a broad and steep central apse. The two side apses are only half as high, i. e., are more or less of normal height. In the walls on the right and left there is a very high adjoining niche. The narthex, also with a barrel vault, lies across the front of the naos and is slewed round to the right. Half of it

has fallen down. Originally the church was only lit indirectly by a window over the door between the narthex and the naos. Later a second window was pierced away up in the lunette. This may have contributed to the collapse of the narthex.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Owing to its use as a dovecote up to 1963/64, the paintings, especially on the vault, are in an excellent state of preservation. In the wall area there is great evidence of rubbing and scraping. The extraordinary height of the barrel vault (about 6.5 m) has also prevented stone-throwers from taking proper aim. But the upper parts of the Transfiguration and the Christ in the Ascension seem to have been absolutely pelted with stones. This has caused some damage, but has not spoiled the overall effect.

TECHNIQUE: The painting rests throughout on a very thin opsis about 0.3—0.5 mm thick, applied to the wall after very careful smoothing. Painting was done when this was wet — the layer of colour is washproof everywhere in the parts that can be reached and tested. The opsis was not applied all at once. Overlapping shows that the painting was done tier by tier. This can best be seen in the transition from the Boyhood scenes to the pictures of the Ascension and the Mission of the Apostles, which are also larger in size, on the eastern half of the barrel vault. Here the old frame of the Flight into Egypt from the first tier and of the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem from the second has been gone over by the ground for the Ascension scene, which was painted at a later stage. The painter got into difficulties with the last of the Apostles and pulled him slightly over into the other area. The band at the apex of the barrel vault with the medallions of the Prophets was also reduced in size to some extent during the final stage of the painting in order to gain more height for the top tier. The grey ground encroaches upon the original red frame. So painting began in the western part of the barrel vault with the two tiers, then came the medallions with the Prophets and finally the Ascension and the Blessing of the Apostles, the last painting on the vault. It is almost certain that the walls were painted after the barrel vault.

It can no longer be established definitely whether a green undercoat (proplasmos) was present or not. On the face of the Angel beside the Tomb, which has been rather badly obliterated, it appears that the white of the light parts was applied to a green undercoat covering the whole area and the entire face was not overlaid with the reddish flesh tint (glykasmos) until afterwards. Over this comes the drawing of eyebrows, nose, mouth and eyes, with white dots marking the pupils of the eyes. None of the faces has lights in the form of lines or dots. On the curves of the cheeks and the brow there is occasional deepening of the tone. On the whole, the faces have been painted very uniformly and in balanced tones. The clear graphical divisions of the so-called Archaic Group are no longer evident.

The draperies are painted with unusual skill. The extremely well defined modelling of the individual parts of the body, e. g., the thigh and the curve of the abdomen, is produced by areas of hatching to denote light and shade, divided into groups and meeting like the teeth of a comb, with the shadows in red and ochre (even on a bright green local colour) and the lights generally in white. The dovetailing of lines of light and shade enables transitions to be made where desired, usually in the upper parts of the body and close to the outline, or from the fold between the legs to the thigh. Once again the demarcation is intentionally hard and definite, for example, between the lap fold and the rounding of the abdomen.

To mark domed areas in the parts of the body modelled and brought out by the hatching technique we have just mentioned, sparing use is made of the familiar triangle and blob shapes and these are linked together by radiating brush strokes.

Quite distinct from this are the upper garments of Christ and Mary from the Ascension and the Blessing of the Apostles. In these there is no drawing of shadow. Over the curiously vivid and luminous red, hard and brilliant lights are applied in the form of just a few lines and teased out ("bursting") blob and triangle shapes. The white has an effect similar to that of silver on a shimmering, luminous red.

The colours available for draperies, only red and green tones, are used alternately in groups as a rule. There are simple alternating series (right-hand group in the Blessing of the Apostles): red-green-red-green-red-green (a-b-a-b-a-b) and others with a stress in the middle (left-hand group in the Blessing of the Apostles): red-green-red-red-green-red (a-b-a-a-b-a). This type of gradation, building up towards the middle, has also been used in the group of Apostles with Mary and the Angels in the Ascension.

Crowd scenes, which occur here for the first time, are graded off in colour from front to back. In the crowd of Jews in the Crucifixion scene the bright tones are in the foreground and the darker ones towards the back, with, right at the end, a grey-green tone which makes the group dissolve into the ground.

Apart from the colours we have been used to so far, red suddenly appears at Çavuşin in a number of variants. It ranges from a bright yellow-orange to a very luminous rusty red and so on to purple in the maphorion of the Madonnas (perhaps burnt sienna) and we find tones with a luminosity to which we are not accustomed. When blackish green shadows occur on this purple, as in the Angel from the Annunciation, a maximum of effect is achieved. The Saints on the inner face of the apse arch and probably also parts of the apse painting (Selene and Helios) have been restored or at least executed by another hand. Here the treatment of the draperies is subdued and the figures are also different and have shorter proportions. The muted tone effect is due to the black colours to be found only here. In the triad the old preliminary sketch in green shows very much smaller and better proportioned heads, but the contours and nimbus were then enlarged — with a bold and crude black line. The heavy lights on the draperies here certainly show no connection at all with the sure hand of the great master. If we should be tempted to attribute the western (Gospel scenes) and eastern part (Blessing of the Apostles and the Ascension) to two masters because of the different and, in the Gospel scenes, much squatter proportioning of the figures, we have only to make an exact comparison of the structure of the flesh tint and of the Madonna type and the treatment of light and shade and we shall quickly drop this idea. Different models and also the space available at any given time must be considered responsible for these differences. The same applies to the walls, where the poorer state of preservation in comparison with the barrel vault must also be taken into account.

The scenes in the narthex show a shifting of tone that covers the whole range of colours. This can, no doubt, be ascribed to the stronger effects of light, air and weather conditions here.

INSCRIPTIONS: 1) On the north wall two equestrian figures with nimbi are portrayed, both with an inscription, on the left beside the flat niche. Only the inscription for the left-hand figure on the chestnut bay is legible:

KE BOHΘI
TON ΔOYAO COY
MEAHAN MA
ICTPON

This is obviously the donor. Taking into account the second inscription, this can be none other than General Melias, or Mleh, an Armenian, who, after his defeat at Amida in 973, died in Baghdad (cf. H. Grégoire, *Notes épigraphiques*, VII, Byzantion 8 [1933] 49 ff.).

2) In the left apse five figures are depicted with mimbi and clad in imperial robes, the middle one in front of a throne. The inscription up on the conch identifies the figures:

TOYC AIΨEBEIC HMON BACEIAHC
ΔHAΦOIAAEON KE IIANTΩTAI
ΔECIYNHC HMON
NHKHΦOPON KE ΘAIΦANOYC

The figures shown are the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963—969), in the middle, and — judging by the mutual affection shown in the picture — the Empress Theophano, on the left of the Emperor. The two figures on the right of the Emperor are named as K, CACPOC and KOPOIIAAATHC. The first is the father of Nicephorus, formerly the Domestikos of the Scholia, Bardas Phocas; the second is the brother of the Emperor, a fellow-warrior and former Strategos of the theme, or administrative district, of Cappadocia, called Leo Phocas. The fifth figure in the group, beside the Empress Theophano, bears no inscription. It is not certain whether this is one of the sons of Romanus II and Theophano, Basil II or Constantine VIII, or — as Jerphanion surmised, for no particular reason — yet another member of the Phocas family.

GRAFFITO: In the main apse on the right, down below, between Constantine and Helena, there is an incised date SX. The cosmic year 6600 mentioned here corresponds by our chronological reckoning to the year 1092.

GULU DERE CHAPEL 1

XXVII SITUATION: Right at the beginning of the valley — on the left and slightly off the road.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 590 f.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple longitudinal naos with a barrel vault and an apse.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The only parts tolerably well preserved are the scenes nearest the front in the two tiers on the right and left and the paintings on the apse arch. The Prophetic Vision in the apse is almost completely destroyed.

The western, or rear, portion of the chapel was probably never painted, as both the green ground plane and the grey background, also the red band painted with pearls and jewels which separates the two tiers, end abruptly. This is seen most clearly of all behind Joseph in the Presentation in the Temple. Remnants of the lime opsis have survived. So Jerphanion's attempt at reconstructing the other scenes in the sequence is pointless. Perhaps it was intended that further scenes should be painted, but this was not carried out.

The scenes themselves have been seriously damaged by scraping. None of the faces has survived intact. There are, however, traces of Simeon's face. The painting in the apse was affected most.

TECHNIQUE: The painting plaster layer is of lime and straw (?) with an admixture of sand.

The flesh tint is built up simply. There is no proplasmos, only a yellowish glykasmos and a small amount of elegant drawing in ochre which can best be compared with Chapel 9 in Göreme. White high-lighting is found only on the draperies. The colour range is very bright and is confined to green and bright grey for the ground plane and the background and bright orange ochre, grey, a bright, thin green and red ochre as local colours for the draperies. A deeper version of the local tone is used for the drawing, mainly in criss-cross lines. The white high-lighting is adapted very considerably to suit the complicated drawing and is seldom massed to give largish semi-circular and bar-shaped areas of light. A striking feature is the tendency on the part of the painter to draw rings and rosettes (the covered hands of Simeon and Joseph in the Presentation in the Temple and the wing of the Angel from the Annunciation).

GULU DERE CHAPEL 3

SITUATION: Farther back in the valley, where the course of the stream has become a gorge. Just a few metres over to the left, above the bed of the stream which here serves as the road. XXVIII

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 592—594; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'église aux trois croix de Güllü dere en Cappadoce et le problème du passage du décor "iconoclaste" au décor figuré*, Byzantion 35 (1965) 175—207.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 144.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple transverse chamber with a flat roof and a large apse. Later on chambers were driven further into the slope, both from the apse and from the naos. Pipes, etc., in the apse show that these were used to store water for watering surrounding gardens. The flat roof, which was probably always unpainted, is adorned with monumental crosses in relief in a wreath motif and between palms.

DECORATION: The painting is mainly in the apse which was given a very extensive Prophetic Vision. The rest of the painting, especially on the apse wall, appears to have been done by the same

hand, but it does not form part of an overall programme. Some of the pictures went up one after another as separate tableaux.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Scraping, etc., can be seen everywhere, but this has not caused too much damage on the whole. As long as the chamber was used to store water, the public would not have had access to it. But smoke and soot appear to have darkened the paintings. In the Baptism to the left of the apse arch an over-enthusiastic attempt has been made to clean the painting. This has taken off nearly all of it down to the undercoat and the preliminary sketch.

TECHNIQUE: The painting rests merely on a thin layer of gesso and tow put straight on to the smoothed rock. Although the overall impression is of bold and almost crude painting, it is made up of many layers and there is delicate treatment of detail. Over a fairly bright flesh colour (glykasmos) there is a thin greenish transparent wash. This is followed by dark drawing applied with a broad brush and high-lighting in the form of little lines made with a thin, pointed brush. The colouring is confined to grey-green and ochre yellow tones which have been badly affected by dirt and smoke. The original colour effect may have been close to that in the Church of St. Theodore near Ürgüp. It is not easy for us to reconstruct it to-day. The fact that the paintings on the apse arch were put on one after another is shown by the thin opsis of the Agathangelus picture which encroaches in part on the Baptism. The ornamental decoration on the apse arch also reveals two or three different layers, i. e., it was repainted on each occasion.

GULU DERE CHAPEL 4

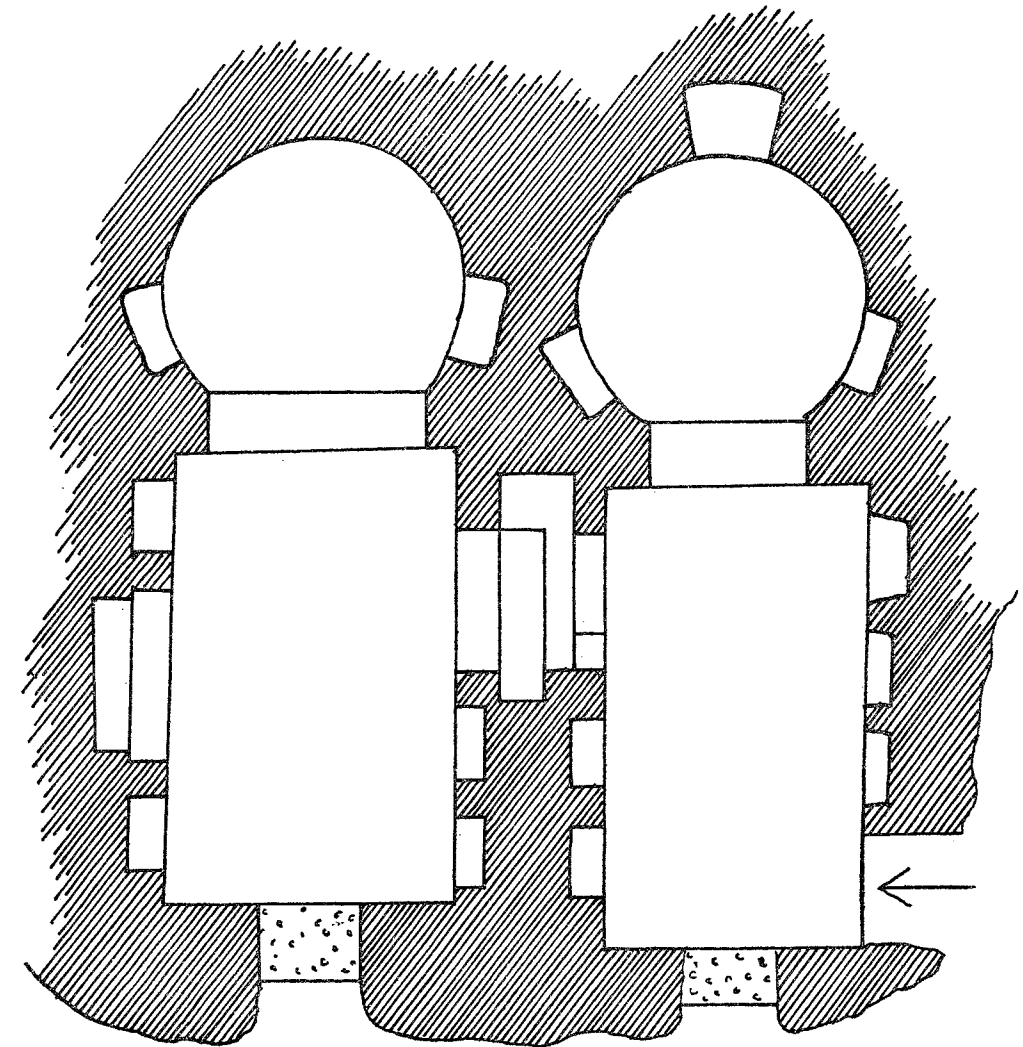
AYVALI KILISE

XXIX SITUATION: After Chapel 3 there are some gardens lying higher than the bed of the stream on the left-hand side. Then we go through a tunnel. To the left of the second tunnel, which comes after the first, there is a solitary tower of rock standing at a higher level. The chapel is situated inside it.

LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 594; N. and M. Thierry, Ayvali Kilise ou Pigeonnier de Güllü dere, Cahiers archéologiques 15 (1966) 97—154; N. Thierry — A. Tenenbaum, Le cénacle apostolique à Kokar kilise et Ayvali Kilise en Cappadoce: Mission des apôtres, Pentecôte, Jugement dernier, Journal des Savants 1963, 228—241.

ARCHITECTURE: Neither Gransault in 1908 nor I myself have succeeded in entering the chapel which is walled up and used as a dovecote.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Use as a dovecote until the present time has ensured that the church is in an excellent state of preservation. Even the faces are well preserved almost everywhere, as far as can be seen from the photographs published so far.



INSCRIPTION: In the south apse:

ANICTOPICTI O NAOC TOY ATIOY HOANOY EPI BA[CIA]EOC KON[CTANTINOY...] TOY EX HO[ΘΟΥ KE III[C]TEOC YKO[ΔO]MONTA TIIN] MONHN TIC IIANATIA[C] KE IIANTON TON [ATIO]N — O ANATINOCKON EYXETE YΠEP AYTOY ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΝ

The large arcosolium in the north chapel:

[ΕΓΟ ΙΟ]ΑΝΝΙ[C EXA]PICTICAMHN AYTON ATION ETOC KOCTMOY SY.. EN MINH NOEMBPIOY HC TAC IA

The cosmic year 64.. mentioned here, together with Constantine VII, the only possible person of that name, shows that the date was a 14th day of December between the years 913 and 920.

GULU DERE CHAPEL 5 (?)

XXX SITUATION: Higher up and farther back, where the gorge, narrow until then, begins to open out beside the second tunnel. It is best reached by going over sloping ground to the left after the second tunnel.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 595.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple longitudinal naos, barrel-vaulted and with an apse. Erosion has worn away the greater part of the chapel from the west side and has eaten away the former niches till they are no more than holes.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The purely linear decoration has survived amazingly well in the apse, which has so far been protected from erosion. Identification with Gransault's Chapel 5 is not absolutely definite, as Jerphanion speaks of a "croix sculptée en relief", whereas in the chapel here we have only come across a large painted cross in an aureole ornamented with circles and floral rosettes.

TECHNIQUE: The purely ornamental decoration is confined in colour to purple, turquoise blue and yellow ochre. It has been put straight on to a thin lime opsis over the carefully dressed wall. There is no drawing of light and shadow. Only the contours are drawn in a stronger tone.

ZİLVE

ST. SIMEON OUTSIDE ZİLVE

XXXI SITUATION: Between the dovecote of Çavuşin and Zilve. After the dovecote a road leads to the right into the fields and to the rocky towers from the track going to Avanos. The Chapel of St. Simeon is situated in a tower ending in three fingers.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 552—569.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. II, 143.1.3—4; Restle collection.

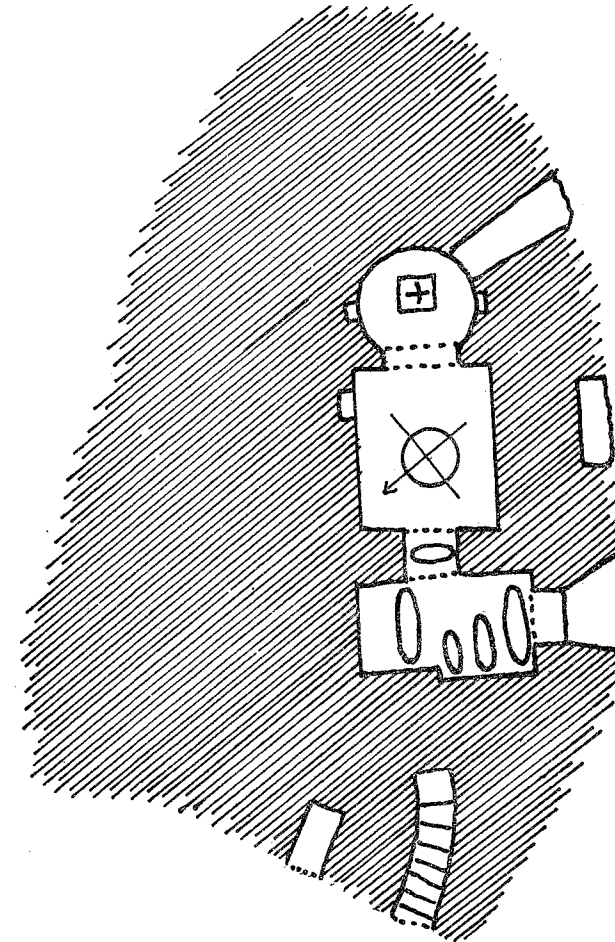
ARCHITECTURE: A rectangular flat-roofed naos with an apse and a transverse rectangular barrel-vaulted narthex that can be entered from the side.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: As a result of scraping, the painting has been obliterated to such an extent that it is only of purely iconographical value as a representation of the Simeon legend (i. e., Simeon Stylites).

TECHNIQUE: Smoothed gesso without an admixture of sand was used as the painting ground. Colours and painting technique — as far as we can see — correspond more or less to what we find in Chapels 6 and 6a.

In addition to the chapel described by Jerphanion (I. 2, 570 f.), there is yet another with a rectangular, barrel-vaulted naos and an apse in the vicinity. There are three niches on the north

and the west side of the naos. Access was from the south side. Features still recognisable from the very fragmentary decoration that has survived are: in the apse Mary with Angels on either side, on the first section of the barrel vault an Ascension, on the second, behind it, a Nativity. The technique, colour and type show a relationship with Chapel 6a.



ZİLVE CHAPEL 4

SITUATION: In the valley behind the village of Zilve.

LITERATURE: Je I. 2, 586—588.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Restle collection.

ARCHITECTURE: A large single-aisled chapel (7.25 x 3.45 m) with an apse and two apsidioles, also a parecclesion with an apse, both connected by a wide passage. In front of the naos there is a small vestibule with barrel vaulting.

XXXI

DECORATION: The festoons of grapes in the apse of the parecclesion are a remarkable feature of the interior. Apart from this we only have the paintings in the small vestibule — Mary enthroned over the entrance door and on the vaulting Gabriel (left) and Michael (right) carrying in outstretched hands a cross with a gloriole. At the feet of the Madonna on the left there is a female Saint with a diadem, probably Helena, and on the right a male Saint, probably Constantine.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Owing to conditions here, the paintings in the vestibule are in a tolerable state, but the faces have been completely obliterated by scraping. What remains and also the inscriptions reveal a connection with Chapel 9 in Göreme.

The other chapels of Zilve contain, in particular, inscriptions and these have been published in Jerphanion's writings (I. 2, 581—589). The meagre remains are unimportant as far as the history of painting is concerned.

KIZIL ÇUKUR

CHAPEL OF JOACHIM AND ANNE

XXXIII

SITUATION: Kızıl Çukur is a side-valley belonging to the large valley system of Gülu dere and branching off from it. After about 300 m the valley widens and is planted with vines. The chapel is at the foot of the rocky tower situated here.

LITERATURE: N. and M. Thierry, *Eglise de Kızıl-Tchoukour, chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et Anne*, *Monuments Piot* 50 (1958) 105—146; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I. Brussels 1964, cf. 3. Index général, Kızıl Çukur; Swoboda 40, 41, 122.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry, *Monuments Piot*.

ARCHITECTURE: Two adjacent chapels, each with an apse. In the north wall of the rear (north) chapel are three niches. The front, or south, chapel has a narthex (with tombs) and, away to the west, a burial chamber.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The paintings have hardly been affected at all by scraping, but have been damaged by fairly large pieces breaking off. This is probably due to permanent use of the chapel as a storage shed for tree branches, etc. Apart from this, the owner has apparently confined himself to poking out the eyes.

TECHNIQUE: The two chapels were painted at different times, but, judging by the colouring and ornamentation, the gap in time between them was not very great. The south chapel with its narthex only has ornamental decoration in the style of the Chapel of St. Stephen in the Archangel Monastery near Cemil, except for the west tympanum (small line figures between palms). In both cases the painting has been done on a gesso layer only a few millimetres thick. The colour scale is restricted to various ochre tones ranging from yellow to brown and so to red and a rather dirty green, also greyish black.

Drawing and modelling are broad, round and plastic — and almost heavy. In the draperies the painting goes from light to shadow. On the local colour there is a thin white transparent wash. Then we have in a strong and also darker local tone the contours, the few folds and a very little drawing in the form of short lines, keeping to the folds.

Over a uniform application of pink glykasmos the faces are marked with just a few round strokes in ochre and two or three lines of light.

KIZIL ÇUKUR

HAÇLI KİLİSE

SITUATION: In a large solitary rock at the beginning of the valley. Only accessible from a chimney-like passage in the interior. XXXIV

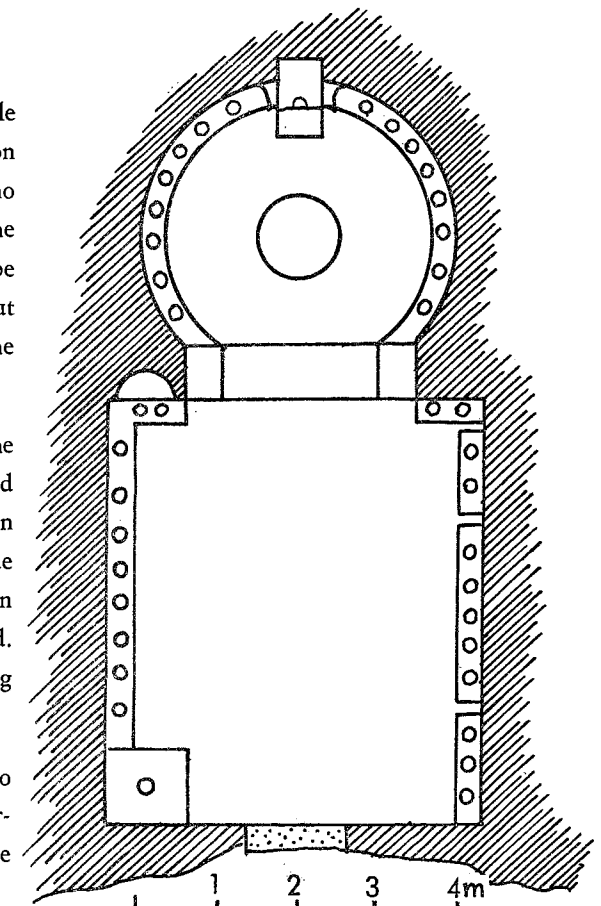
LITERATURE: N. and M. Thierry, *Haçlı Kilise, l'église à la croix en Cappadoce*, *Journal des Savants* 1964, 241—254.

ILLUSTRATIONS: loc. cit.

ARCHITECTURE: A flat-roofed naos with a single aisle. It has an apse and a small apsidiole on the left. Throne behind the altar, which is no longer in existence. Seats all round, even in the apse. The holes made in them can hardly be hollows for sitting in, as the authors think, but rather drinking holes added later for the pigeons.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The decoration in the apse with its Prophetic Vision, Michael and Gabriel, also medallions with the Prophets on the apse arch is well preserved. The rest of the chapel, with a cross in relief as in Chapel 3 in nearby Gülu dere, was probably never painted. The faces have been devitalised by scratching out the eyes.

TECHNIQUE: The published photographs show too little of the painter's technique. There is uncertainty also about the colouring. I myself have not seen the paintings.



XXXV SITUATION: 8.5 km after Ürgüp we leave the highway from Ürgüp to Kayseri and turn to the right (sign-post!), pass the village of Karlık and, after going another 8 km from the cross-roads, we reach Tağar. The church stands in a secluded spot to the north-west (we climb up to the right through the village from the well). It is situated high up, outside the village.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 187—205; Laf NN 132 f.; Swoboda 125 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 164.2—172.

ARCHITECTURE: A triconch with an incomplete triple-aisled west arm. At the crossing there is a dwarf gallery that we can walk along and, above it, resting on folded pendentives, there was a dome that has since collapsed and been replaced by glass.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: On the whole, the painting has been excellently preserved. The west arm, unfinished because of a large crack in the rock, was certainly never painted. We must deplore the almost total loss of the paintings on the south conch. In the east and north the apex portion of the crossing arches has fallen in and has been reinforced in a makeshift manner with rough concrete and the large hole in the right half of the east apse has been temporarily blocked up with stones. Much of the painting on the walls has been knocked off or fell off when holes were made for the pigeons' perches. The paintings on the conches have only been affected by stone-throwing, which has caused serious damage to the Christ medallion in the north apse, but nothing else. The medallions on the inner face of the crossing arches have been destroyed at the apex owing to collapse of the arches and those down below have been knocked off.

TECHNIQUE: Of the three masters working here each had his own method. It is easiest to refer to them by the names of the main scenes painted by them.

The Deesis master (east and north conch) starts out from a brownish middle tone for the flesh. Shadow and light are applied in a broad sweep and with a transparent effect. This means that the face is already modelled and all that remains now is to add a few accent marks in the drawing and the outline. These are sharply applied in dark ochre in swinging brush strokes and with just a few dabbing movements.

In the draperies he has two possibilities, but they are the same as far as the basic structure is concerned. From the local tone, for which he always selects brown ochre or purple, he first of all passes to a neutral grey transition tone. On this and beside it he then puts pure white or transparent white lights. Both possibilities are used for contrast within one and the same figure. The colouring used by this master is muted and earthy, brown and heavy. When green appears — only in the ground plane — he puts it on grey, so taking away its luminosity.

The master of the Gospel scenes worked on the frieze below the north conch. His flesh tint structure is the most complex of all, as he uses a proplasmos (green undercoat) as well, which is retained in the shadows beside the nose and on the cheeks and neck. Over this he puts the flesh colour, or glykasmos, which he warms up by mixing in more and more red. Only then and only on this are white lights applied. Occasionally they allow the warm red of the glykasmos to shine through.

He also works in a traditional manner on the draperies. On the local tone comes drawing in an appropriate shadow tone. Only in the case of red is this a deepened version of the local tone; for green it is done in an ochre tone and for purple in black. The lights are applied to it in clean, angular lines — and once again there are two possibilities. On bright local tones, and this includes red here, the lights are pure white and on dark purple they are a transparent white.

No face by the painter of the Prophetic Vision on the south conch has been preserved. The final remnant in the eastern part of the conch shows the figure of one of the Prophets, probably Ezekiel. In the garment his starting point is a local tone (red), which is deepened by broad organic areas of shadow and divided up by white and sometimes crooked lights, jagged like sharks' teeth or bold and sweeping. Only light is shown on the thigh and arm, over which the robe is stretched.

The Communion of the Apostles in the frieze below — only two figures and a remnant of the architectural background survive — has been rubbed off to such an extent that we cannot say definitely which of the painters was responsible. Judging by the proportioning of the figures and the application of light, it would appear to have been painted by the same master as the Prophetic Vision.

The question of overpainting at Tağar has been raised again and again since Jerphanion made his observations. Swoboda (125 f.) speaks of "offenbar starker Übermalungen". Lafontaine (132) comments that the paintings were "en partie retouchées ou même refaites à une époque postérieure". This refers only to the Gospel scenes frieze in the north apse and specifically only to two scenes in it: the Nativity and the Crucifixion. Here remnants of other paintings can be seen under the present painting layer. In both cases there appear to be changes in composition. In the Nativity the seated Joseph on the left has been taken a little more out of the corner and the remains of the first figure have been painted over with green bushes in secco. Also the cradle of the Infant in the section above appears to have been reduced in size. In the Crucifixion, owing to insertion of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene on the left and John on the right, the painter was obliged to make the two soldiers with the lance and sponge smaller and bring them (especially the one on the left) nearer to the Cross. The cross-beam of the Cross was also placed higher. It is a curious fact that in the rest of these two scenes and also in the third, the Annunciation, on the right there is no evidence of this kind of thing having been done. So the procedure can hardly have been as Jerphanion supposed. He thought that there was partial overpainting at a later date with a few iconographical additions to rectify the material in the Gospel scenes, which had been originally present in entirety and was subsequently destroyed. He assumed that the Nativity and the Crucifixion had been entirely repainted and that in the Annunciation the painter had confined himself to retouching the internal detail (green shadows!). The same painter had also touched up a head in the Communion of the Apostles and one on the medallions on the south crossing arch. Jerphanion's theory is based on two errors of observation, i. e., he thought that the setting out and drawing of the Angel in the Annunciation had been done by the south conch artist (he compared him with Ezekiel), also that the green shadows on the Angel and in certain places on the south conch represented subsequent retouching. This is contradicted by the fact that the Angel and the Madonna in the Annunciation are completely in keeping with all the other figures in the Nativity and the Crucifixion as far as setting out and structure of the painting are concerned, so they cannot be assigned to a different layer or to a

different painter. Nor can we find any traces at all of older painting here. When describing the painting method of the Gospel scenes artist we established that the green shadows on the faces on the north frieze do not come on top of the flesh colour, but underneath it, so they could not represent a later addition to the Angel. We must therefore keep to the idea that the entire north frieze in its present form is uniform and has been done by the same hand. The earlier elements that we can recognise in it (Joseph, Mary and the cradle in the Nativity; Longinus and Aesop, also the higher cross-beam in the Crucifixion) are so few and far between that we cannot conclude on the basis of these alone that an earlier, and complete, frieze did indeed exist. Their very incompleteness, which is clearly evident in the Nativity scene, points to the fact that, for some reason or other, the painting of the original frieze only reached a certain stage and then work on it was broken off. (Only the preliminary sketch of the lower parts of the first seated Joseph has been preserved and so the figure appears unfinished, whereas the head and shoulder had already progressed to the stage of having high-lights, and only the preliminary sketch of the Infant's cradle in ochre can be seen.) The new painter — and there definitely was one — then set out part of the scenes afresh and executed the entire frieze in its present form. The painting technique of the first artist can still be clearly seen from the Joseph fragment. As the first layer his flesh tone appears to have a grey undercoat with white high-lighting. Over this there should have been a thin transparent glykasmos coating. This was either not put on at all or was applied in secco and has therefore disappeared. The red robe is only divided up by white lines of light and black outlines and internal drawing. The second artist never used a black outline, but we can actually see this on heads done by the first artist. We cannot say anything definite about the time interval between the two. But the line work and the drawing are so closely related and the flesh structure with its plastic modelling even in the undercoat is so characteristic in both cases, in contrast to the work of the Deesis painter, that we can well imagine a school connection existing between the two painters of the Gospel scenes. They would both have been working in the church during the same painting operation.

SUSUM BAYRI NEAR URGUP

ST. THEODORE

XXXVI **SITUATION:** To the south of Ortahisar. We cross the deep valley of Ortahisar on the viaduct and proceed along the very twisting road to the top. At this and every subsequent road-fork we always go to the left. We reach a bare stretch of low ground. Up to this point the road is suitable for a car. A small footpath will now take us to the left as far as the church along the edge of the low ground that runs across the road.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 17—47; Rott 204—208; Budde 11 f., 31, Nos. 37—41, 44—45; Swoboda 123.

148 **ILLUSTRATIONS:** Je pl. III, 147; Budde Illusts. 35, 37—41, 44—45.

ARCHITECTURE: A flat-roofed naos with one aisle and an apse. On the right is a parecclesion with arcaded niches. The western part of the naos, away to the back, has been hewn out further on the right to give space for a water basin in the corner. On the left a stairway leads to an ambo platform. The stone iconostasis that was added later has been smashed. Pieces of it are strewn about everywhere. The apse was later bored deeper into the rock in the lower part. The level of the naos appears to have been lowered.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Until 1923 it was completely intact according to Jerphanion. When the Greeks were expelled, it was profaned and partly destroyed by stone-throwing. The roof has only been slightly affected by this. The walls have suffered more and also show marked signs of rubbing. The paintings on the west (entrance) wall have fared worst of all and the north-west corner is hardly any better. There is an improvement in the second quarter of the wall, but damage here too is considerable, as a result of stone-throwing in the upper tier and scraping in the lower. The lower part of the apse painting has been destroyed by the extension. Even the middle portions of the painting on the apse conch have been cut off by this.

Two notes by Jerphanion are incorrect, but have nevertheless been brought into the latest literature (Budde and Swoboda, both without an inspection). He said that, as the church had been in continuous use, the cycle had been painted over several times (Je II. 1, 22). Very accurate investigations carried out on four occasions have shown that not a single brush stroke in the paintings can possibly belong to later restoration work and certainly not to different layers. The material can be regarded as being completely original.

He also said that the apse appeared to have escaped restoration, but the blackening of the paintings did not permit any photographs to be taken. This is a mystery. We can see from looking at the photographs that this is not the case. No cleaning has been done in the meantime and the blackening cannot have disappeared of its own accord. The only explanation for this incorrect statement by Jerphanion is that he got his notes muddled.

TECHNIQUE: On the roof and the walls and in the apse there is a smoothed gesso layer which is 1.5 to 2 mm thick throughout and contains no sand. There is no opsis.

The flesh tint has been built up without a proplasmos by using only flesh colour, drawing in dark ochre and cheek shadows, sometimes in dark brown and sometimes in reddish ochre. Lights are avoided on the flesh. The drawing of the nose, mouth and eyes and, above all, the eyebrows is so characteristically uniform that there must have been only one artist painting the faces.

But there are slight differences in the draperies. In one case, lines of light, comb-shaped or like a herring-bone and occasionally interspersed with shadow lines, are used in the drawing of internal detail (best examples are Joseph in the Journey to Bethlehem and the Angel in the Annunciation). In the other case the local colour is left in a mass without lines of light and is only divided up by the darker drawing. It may perhaps be thought that there were two painters of draperies at work here. As for the picture inscriptions, we are at once tempted to conclude that they come from two artists or even from different periods, as a great number of them are in white and others (in the Magi scene) in black. But we occasionally find them both together in a single scene (e.g., the Nativity). If we inspect them letter by letter, we find the same general appearance, the same form and the same brushwork. All the inscriptions, black or white, must have been put there by the same hand.

KEPEZ NEAR ÜRGÜP

SARICA KİLİSE - YELLOW CHURCH

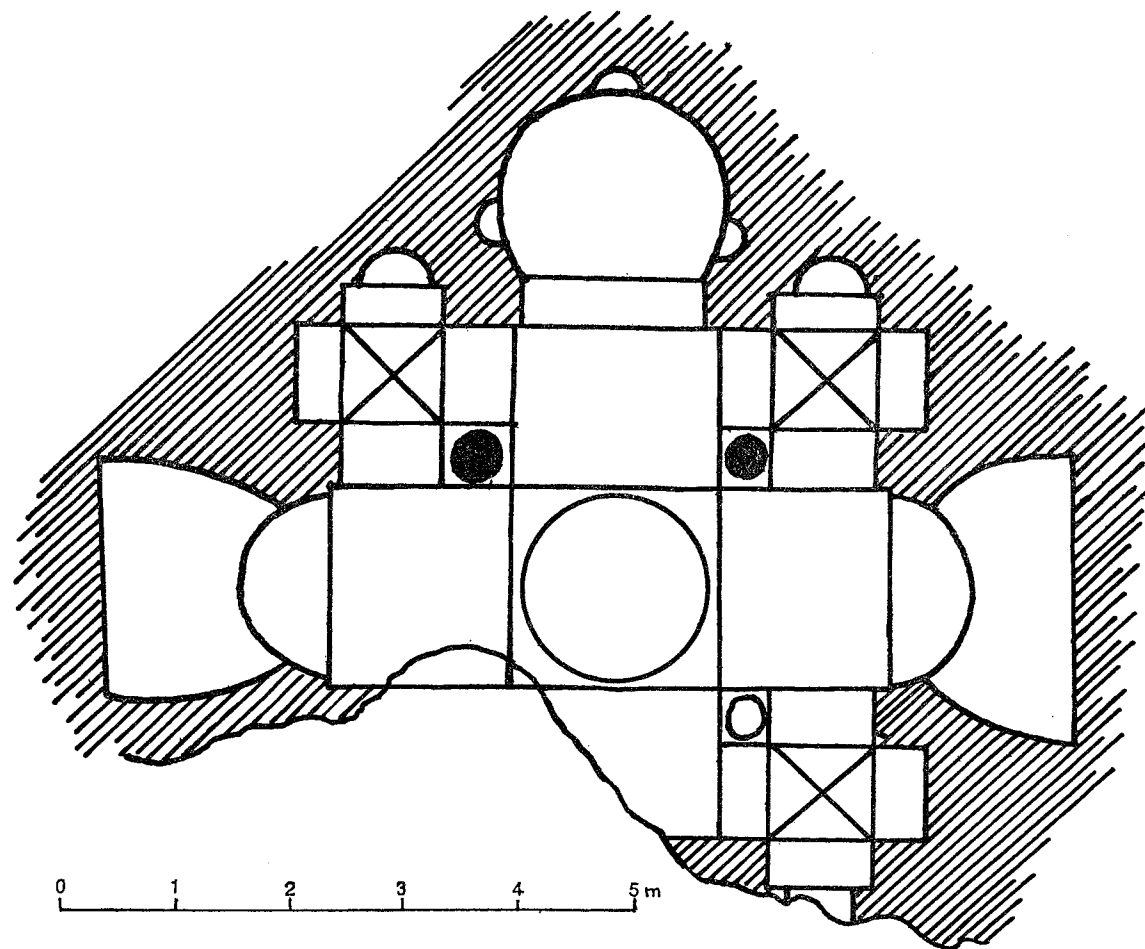
XXXVII SITUATION: In an isolated pyramid-shaped rock in the wide valley which lies to the south-west of Susum Bayrı (to the south-east of Ortahisar).

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 47—49; Rott 208 f.; Laf N 465—477; Lafontaine, *Sarica Kilise en Cappadoce*, *Cahiers archéologiques* 12 (1962) 263—284.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Rott 70—71; Lafontaine, *Cahiers archéologiques* Figs. 1—22.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with four column supports. The cross arms are terminated by apses (Athos type). Later (?), but before the painting, large burial chambers were hewn out in the lower part of the north and south apses. To the east there is a group of apses made up of three parts. The stilted drum of the dome has semi-circular niches provided with conches.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Very badly damaged by stone-throwing and scraping. Hardly a face has survived. Wide areas of the painting have broken off. The lower parts are completely destroyed.



TECHNIQUE: I have not viewed the paintings myself. Little can be seen from the published photographs, apart from broad patches of meagre high-lighting. Drawing of shadow seldom passes from the outline into the internal area. The colouring has, no doubt, darkened considerably. Dark brown was probably the dominant colour originally. There does not appear to be any green. J. Lafontaine dates the paintings to around the year 1100, shortly before those in the Triconch at Tağar.

ORTAHİSAR

CAMBAZLI KİLİSE

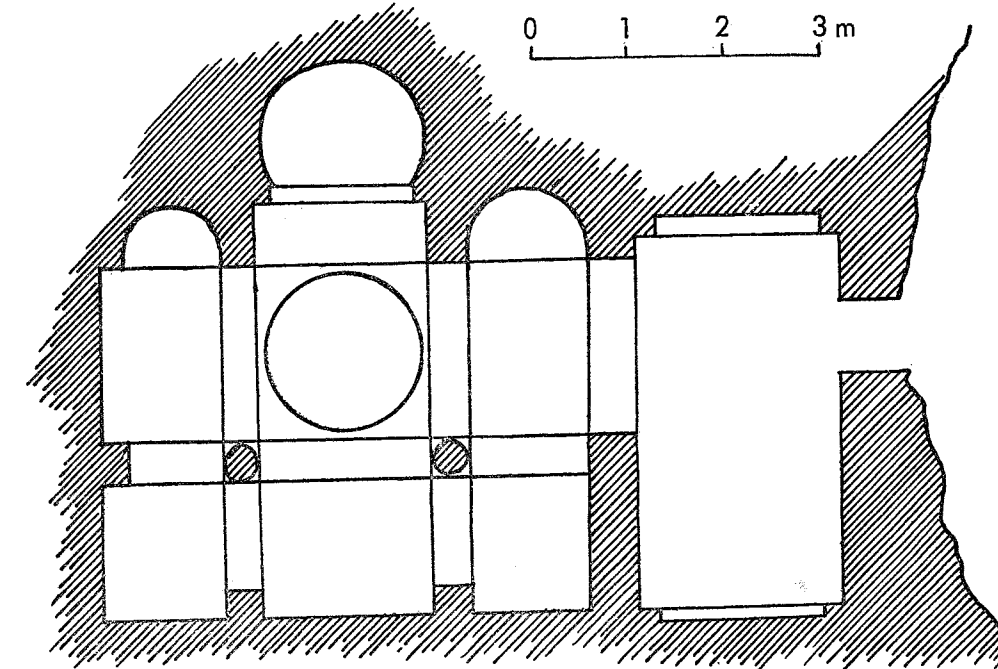
SITUATION: In the deep, gorge-like valley that runs round the village to the south and west.

XXXVIII

LITERATURE: N. and M. Thierry, *Une nouvelle église rupestre de Cappadoce: Cambazlı kilise à Ortahisar*, *Journal des Savants* 1963, 5—23; Budde 31, No. 47.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry, loc. cit.; Budde *Illust.* 47.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with only two column supports (hybrid type) in the west and a shortened east cross arm between two pillars (reverse of the Çarıklı type, cf. Göreme, Chapel 22). Terminated by three apses. Access through an antechamber to the south.



STATE OF PRESERVATION: The scenes visible to-day, the Annunciation and the Visitation in the south cross arm, are fairly well preserved, with the exception of minor damage from stone-throwing. Complete removal of the rest of the painting is very unlikely. A more convincing theory is that only part of it was ever painted.

TECHNIQUE: The lights have been put on in two ways — in pure white on bright, luminous local colours and as a transparent wash on dark and subdued local tones. The various forms they take are a simple line following the contours, triangular patches and lines of hatching that seem to have been teased out. There is moderate use of shadow, starting, as a rule, from the contours and internal drawing and only occasionally teased out. The lines are bold and heavy throughout.

TAVŞANLI KİLİSE

CHURCH WITH THE HARE

XXXIX SITUATION: To the south of Ortahisar. First of all, we proceed along the road over the viaduct and all the bends as if going to the Church of St. Theodore at Susum Bayırı, but, instead of branching off to the left, we drive straight on. When we cross the road coming up from the right from the village of Babayan, we turn in along a road to the left, also suitable for a private car. On coming to a grave on the left of the road, we leave it and climb steeply down to the right. There is a small footpath to help us in places. The chapel is in one of the last cones of rock before the end of the valley, which faces it.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 78—99; Laf NN 131; Swoboda 124; G. P. Schiemenz, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 28 (1965) 259.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 152—153.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Unfortunately, the cycle has been badly damaged owing to large areas breaking off or being knocked off. Scraping and stone-throwing have seriously affected the rest. The wall parts can be regarded more or less as a total loss. But the damage was done long ago and conditions have hardly changed at all since Jerphanion's day owing to the remote location of the church.

TECHNIQUE: The painting ground, coming over a well smoothed rock base with original linear decoration, is a layer of gesso 1 to 2 mm thick. In structure and execution the painting is primitive and rustic. The flesh tint consists merely of a glykasmos with drawing in ochre and black. There is no high-lighting anywhere — except in bright parts of the hair, which are marked with hatching.

In the draperies primitive, schematised lines of light and shade have been interlocked like teeth of a comb, usually from the same side. The colours are confined to grey, ochre and also ochre tones of red. The characteristic green is completely absent.

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION: On either side of the naos on the cornice separating the wall and the barrel vault we find, beginning on the left-hand side at the back, the following words:

[+ ΕΚΑΔΙΕΡΓΗΘΗ ΟΥΤΟC Ο ΝΑΟC ΔΙΑ CΥΝΔΡΟΜΗC... ΚΑΙ... Υ] ΠΟ ΕΠΗCΚΟΠ
(ΟΥ ΔΕ)ΟΝΤΟC ΚΕ ΒΑCΗΔΕΟC ΚΟCΤΑΝΘΗΝΟΥ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΕΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΗ
ΜΑΡΤΗΟ ΗC ΤΑC ΗΚΟΧ +
+ Π [ΟΘΟ ΜΕΤΑΛΟ ΥΠ]ΕΡ [ΤΗ(C) C]ΟΤΗΡΗΑC ΚΕ ΑΦΕCΕΟC ΤΟΝ ΑΝΜΑΡΤΗΟΝ
ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΕ Ο ΑΝΑΘΗΝΟCΚΟ
ΕΥΧΕCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥC ΔΗΑ ΤΟΝ Κ[Ν Η]ΜΟΝ ΑΜΗ[Ν +]

The inscription gives as the date for the completion of the church decoration a 20th day of March during the reign of an Emperor called Constantine, who was born in the purple, and a certain Bishop Leo (probably from Hagios Prokopios — Ürgüp).

The fact that the Emperor is mentioned after the Bishop is without precedent in Byzantium, but this is matched by the primitive, backwoods character of the painting and can only be explained by peasant ignorance of protocol. The Emperor was such a long way off, but the Bishop was close at hand!

Since Jerphanion established that: "l'empereur est Constantin VII Porphyrogénète qui régna de 912 à 959", Tavşanlı Kilise has been considered as being reliably dated. I began to have doubts about this dating in 1956 in connection with the traditional name for the Tekfur-Serai in Constantinople. Schiemenz recently expressed these doubts in writing (cf. Lit.). In addition to Constantine VII there is another possible candidate, i. e., Constantine VIII (1025—1028), who was born in the purple. This would move the date about a hundred years further on. We can ignore the princes with the name of Constantine who were born in the purple as the title of emperor is mentioned here.

SİNASSOS-MUSTAFA PAŞA KOY

PENTEKOSTE OR CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES

SITUATION: Where the highway from Ürgüp to Sinassos leads over a bridge, we go up the bed of the stream to the right (suitable for a private car in the dry season — before the bridge we go to the left and then through under the bridge). On reaching the mineral springs we walk a short distance to the left out of the bed of the stream and through orchards to the chapel. XL

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 59—77; Grégoire, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 1909, 90 f.; Rott 204.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 150—151.

ARCHITECTURE: A rectangular barrel-vaulted naos with an apse. To the south and linked by pillared arcades, the parecclesion is similar, but is adorned with arcaded niches. To the north there is a small vestibule with an entrance. A side room has been hollowed out between the vestibule and the apse.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Of the painting in the interior, the upper half of the vault tiers and the lower parts of the wall tiers have been knocked off completely. The rest has been very badly blackened with soot. The organic binding media probably used here (size or glue?) have, no doubt, helped considerably to darken the colour in this way. The apse and the Pentecost picture in the vestibule have been better preserved.

TECHNIQUE: The ground is of gesso and straw with an admixture of sand. The painting is not uniform in colour and technique. The apse and the Pentecost picture are in marked contrast to the paintings in the naos.

In these first pictures we find green, yellow, ochre and purple. The bold, but excellent and organically correct drawing of internal detail is always done in a deeper version of the local tone. As for the flesh tint, the greyish yellow glykasmos (perhaps a grey base for yellowish glykasmos) has just a little drawing in a purple ochre tone without high-lighting and only reddish cheek parts.

The painter of the scenes in the naos worked differently. His sense of colour is reminiscent of that in the Karanlık Kilise and the restoration of the Kılıçlar Kilise in Göreme, i.e., sombre tones in blackish brown have been used with brighter parts in greyish white. Green, when it occurs, has been changed into a dirty grey. This second master paints from dark into light, whereas the first artist started out from a bright local tone and superimposed on it drawing that was more vigorously executed and deeper in colour. In the second type of painting deepening of the drawing and shadows beyond the dark local tone is no longer possible. So the painter went in the other direction, towards light effects. Large rectangles of light, with triangles in between, elongated blobs and semi-circular lights fashioned with almost geometrical clarity are the main ingredients in his drawing of the exaggeratedly elongated thighs of the striding Angel. These individual forms are always linked by from two to four sharp, pointed lines of light. High-lights sweeping boldly downwards along the ridges made by the folds fill the sections between the legs. Only occasionally is an entire leg plunged in light, but then the light is broken up into single lines, set close together and running into one another.

It is very doubtful whether the two masters — according to this there must be two — were working at the same time. The clear differences in their type of painting and technique support this idea. The apse and vestibule have been executed in pure lime or casein painting. In the scenes in the naos, however, an abundance of organic binding material (a bran extract or something of the sort) appears to have been used. This is the only possible explanation for the difference in the state of preservation of the apse and naos scenes.

KEMERLİ DERE

XLI SITUATION: Barely 1 km after the end of the dam the highway from Sinassos (Mustafapaşaköy) to Cemil passes a mill on the left. We go in a north-north-easterly direction from the mill and in about half an hour reach the cave, which is in a small valley below a group of rocky towers.

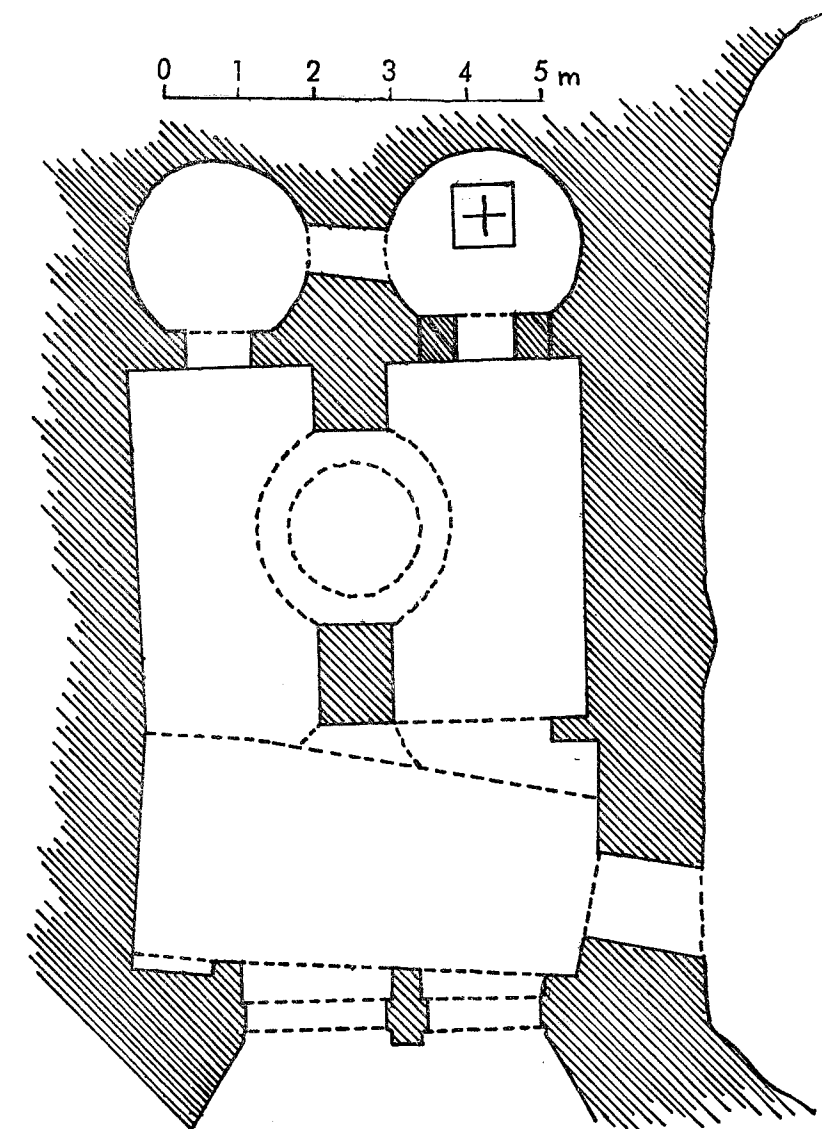
LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 125—127.

ARCHITECTURE: A triple-aisled pillared basilica, the eastern part of which, probably three apses, has completely disappeared.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: In most cases only the preliminary sketch has been preserved. Neither of the two cycles appears to have been completed.

TECHNIQUE: According to the position, a lime layer between 2 and 8 mm thick, mixed with sand, to which a little chopped straw was probably added originally. Its surface has been smoothed over very considerably.

The painting deserves our special attention as we have an opportunity here of studying a preliminary sketch in detail. It appears to have been done without the help of any instruments, such as compasses or a ruler. A perpendicular line drawn free-hand forms the axis of the figures.



Cemil, Archangel Chapel

Not even the main proportions of head, trunk and legs have been marked on this. The figure has instead been drawn by a free-hand technique. Just a few skilful brush strokes were all that was needed. Pentimenti are very rare. Over this preliminary sketch, which appeared only on one tier on each side of the vault, there is a second painting which has obviously progressed a bit further, but was applied to the same plaster ground. It comprised two tiers on each side of the barrel vault.

CEMİL ARCHANGEL MONASTERY

ARCHANGEL CHAPEL

XLII **SITUATION:** Where the highway bends round to the left about 1 km to the south of Cemil and a small road comes in from the right. The monastery is only a few metres to the right of this little road above a small retaining wall.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 128—145; Laf NN 137.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 156—158 (from sketches by E. Mamiboury).

ARCHITECTURE: A double-aisled naos with a pillared arcade, two apses and a narthex. A dome was later introduced over the arcade and much of the dividing wall between the narthex and the naos was taken out.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Blackened very badly indeed. All the paintings belong to completely different periods and, when a new part was added, the older parts appear to have been painted over and restored.

TECHNIQUE: Owing to the completely abandoned state of the paintings no exact observations can be made. Only inspection and cleaning of the whole collection over a period of weeks could help us, but its mediocre quality, even in what are probably the oldest parts, would hardly justify our taking so much trouble with this particular monument. Compare the careful observations made by Jerphanion, which are probably accurate on the whole, although based on iconographical presuppositions and comparisons.

CEMİL ARCHANGEL MONASTERY

CHAPEL OF ST. STEPHEN

XLIII **SITUATION:** Just a few metres to the right, beside the Archangel Chapel.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 146—155; Laf NN 137 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 155, 158.1

ARCHITECTURE: A rather irregular rectangular naos with a flat roof and an apse. In the back portion the floor and the west wall have fallen into a cistern down below. Niches in the walls.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The paintings, which belong to different periods, are in a very poor state of preservation. A great deal of damage must have been done when the monastery was profaned in 1923.

TECHNIQUE: The first layer consists of gesso 2 to 5 mm thick without any sand, straw or tow. The cross and ornamental decoration, the Communion of the Apostles (?) on the south wall and the inscription on the east wall to the east of the apse were painted on this. A layer of lime, at most 1 mm thick, was put over it in places. On this we see, for example, the Orans figure on the east wall to the left, beside the inscription (Je II. 1, Inscr. 154). In the third niche from the front in the north wall the cross and an inscription are visible to this day (Je Inscr. 153). There was a scene superimposed on this, but the remains of it were removed by Jerphanion so that he could read the inscription underneath (Je II. 1, 153). Because of all the damage it is now difficult to determine the sequence of the layers in the other niches. Jerphanion thought he could also see traces of figural painting under the main layer with the cross and ornamentation on the roof and walls. He said there was a grey wash between them (Je II. 1, 148). Careful examination — in so far as this is possible after all the extensive damage and removal of layers by Jerphanion — leads me to conclude that the sequence was quite different. The original decoration of the niches, which is only clearly recognisable now in one place (cross with Inscr. 155), was later painted over with scenes. But on the east wall layer II with the Orans figure also covers a scene. Here layer II allows for the inscription in layer I. The grey layer noted by Jerphanion, which he thought came in between I and II, is certainly later than II, as it appears on top of it also (east wall on the left beside the apse).

All the paintings are set out in a simple and in parts even primitive manner from the point of view of colour and technique. The red, yellow and green are always pure colours and the outline is drawn in a darker tone. This applies also to the figural parts of layer I, e.g., the Communion of the Apostles, where the only subtle touch to be seen is local colour with schematic drawing of internal detail in the folds.

GRAFFITO: This is on layer II on the east wall, to the left beside the apse. The first line may possibly include a date. This would refer to the cosmic year 6025, i.e., 6825, which by our reckoning would correspond to 1316/17.

DAMSAKOY

SITUATION: A steep place on the right bank away at the back of the village.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 178—182.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 155.2.

ARCHITECTURE: A cruciform naos with a rather extended west arm, a central dome and an apse.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The Ascension on the dome is fairly well preserved, although badly blackened. The lower parts have been almost completely destroyed.

TECHNIQUE: Detailed observations were not possible owing to the serious damage in the lower part and at the top of the dome. A striking feature is the considerable blackening on parts of the dome, but this does not affect the middle. We would not be far wrong if we suggested that organic binding media must have been used in the blackened portions — apparently in conjunction with restoration work, which hardly affected the centre of the dome at all.

SOVIŞ SAHINEFENDİ - CHURCH OF THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE (SIVAS)

XLV **SITUATION:** About 1 km to the east of Söviş. First of all, we go a little way along a dried-up stream running from the north-west towards the highway, then go up rather more steeply and sharply to the right towards the angular end of the valley. The church is situated in one of the first rocky towers.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 156—174; Swoboda 126; Laf NN 136 f.; G. P. Schiemenz, Zur politischen Zugehörigkeit des Gebietes um Sobesos und Zoropassos in den Jahren um 1200, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft 14 (1965) 207—238, especially 237.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 161—164.1.

ARCHITECTURE: A double-aisled naos with two apses. Pillared arcades separate the two aisles, which are roofed with longitudinal barrel vaults. Side rooms to the west have now been included in the naos. The level was lowered twice (by about 1.5 m altogether), probably to put the lower lying west rooms and the naos on the same level.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: On the barrel vaults the painting is in very good condition, although damaged by stone-throwing. This and scraping have only had a serious effect in the apses and on the west lunettes. The wall paintings that were within easy reach have been virtually lost.

TECHNIQUE: The only portion of the first layer that has survived is the sanctuary niche which has been opened up again on the right side of the south apse. It was blocked up at one time and painted over with layer II. It contains simple line painting (palm between vine tendrils) in green and red on a smoothed gesso layer. It is very doubtful whether the whole church was painted in this manner. This decoration was probably confined to a few central points in the chapel. The rest was, no doubt, covered by a simple decoration in red applied straight to the stone, as can still be seen in the small niche on the left beside the Crucifixion. The extraordinary height of the painted sanctuary niche, which was, of course, within easy reach at one time, gives us some indication of the early level.

In essence, the second layer corresponds to the cycle that is visible to-day. The floor level for it was lower than for layer I. This can be seen all round the walls and from the seat niche hollowed painted sanctuary niche, which was, of course, within easy reach at one time, gives us some indication of the early level.

The Crucifixion in the large niche in the north wall belongs to a third layer. Its plaster ground contains a large amount of sand. It is adjusted to correspond to the present level, which is even lower than that of layer II.

Only the painting on layer II is interesting as it is of high quality.

The faces are painted with a special feeling for the conversion of plastic into pictorial values. The painter has started with a light ochre glykasmos and has tended more and more towards dark colours. This has been done in two ways — by using warm ochre tones of dark brownish red, mostly on one side of the face, and cool tones of green on the other side. Dark ochre drawing is superimposed on all this.

Great variety can be seen in the draperies. One method, and this is the traditional one, is to give shape to the bright, luminous local colours (red, yellow and grey) by means of great sweeping lights joining up to form masses that cannot be described in geometrical terms and by means of dark brown drawing and outlines (Ascension in the south apse, Angel in the Annunciation, Joseph and flute-players in the Nativity). The other method is more unconventional and tends to be used with dark brownish red local colours. Here intermediate tones are boldly applied to the dark ground — as before, a warm tone in a fairly bright red and a cool one in green. Over this comes drawing in white made up of thin lines of light applied sharply and vigorously. Finally we have a few streaks of bright, luminous orange on top.

The feature that these two methods of painting have in common is that they both go from shadow towards light, whereas the reverse system was used for the flesh tint. Whether we can conclude from this that more than one artist was at work here is very doubtful. Both methods are to be found not only in the course of a single scene (the Magi, the Nativity, the Annunciation), but also inside a single figure (Mary in the Nativity, Mary in the Adoration of the Magi).

But a different hand was definitely at work in the pictures of the Prophet David and St. Theodore. Even in the flesh tint the distinction between warm and cold shadows has been abandoned here. Over the light ochre glykasmos there is only rather faded drawing in dark ochre, occasionally (in the eyebrows) accompanied by thin white lines. The cheeks and lips and the jewels of the crown appear to have been done in cinnabar which has now turned black. The draperies are painted in the same way. Starting from a medium local tone, the drawing goes in two separate directions with darkish ochre and accompanying white. The brushwork generally gives a round, realistic effect.

INSCRIPTION: Opposite the picture of David in the extension to the south aisle, which has a lower placed arch of its own where it joins on, there is an inscription giving the name of the church and the date of the painting:

[.AN]E[K]EN[I]CΘYN O IIANCEITOC [NAOC OYTOC]
[T]O[N T]O[Y] XY MAPTHPON. M. ΔHA C[HN]ΔP[OMHC]
[TOY ΔOY]AOY TOY ΘY MAKAPEI EIEPOM(ONAX)OY ANTAΔ[IKHMATON]
[AYTOY XIPI A]ETIOY M(ONAXOY) ETOYC. S. Φ. KE EINH [BAC]YAEOC
[ΘEOΔOPOY ΔACKAPI]

The inscription has not become any more legible since Jerphanion's day. But the modern filter method of reproduction can make a copy that is more revealing than the extremely pale original. At the beginning of the last line I am rather doubtful about the accuracy of Jerphanion's interpretation and the addition he made, but this part is, unfortunately, so badly damaged and so difficult to read that one cannot be sure about it. The only legible part is ετιου, which in my opinion represents the ending of a proper name. Unlike Jerphanion, I do not feel that 'Αετιου is impossible. On the basis of the copy, Schiemenz recently objected quite justifiably to the name of the emperor at the end of the inscription, as given by Jerphanion. Our illustration may be useful here. One definite point — and this is most important — is the date. It gives the cosmic year 6725, i. e., our own year 1216/17 as the time when the church was painted. The inscription is on the painting ground of layer II. It has never been painted over and must be considered as a clear source of evidence with regard to the painting in this main layer.

SOĞANLI

CHURCH OF ST. BARBARA - TAHTALI KİLİSE

XLVI **SITUATION:** We leave the village on our right and go farther up the bed of the stream. It is just slightly above the bed of the stream, but can be reached from away up on the right. Key obtainable from the muhtar of Soğanlı.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 307—332; Rott 145—148; Laf N 4—5.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 186—193, 194.1, 202.1; Rott 148, Illust. 47; Laf NN 11—14.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple barrel-vaulted naos with an apse. The barrel vault is divided in the middle by a transverse arch on pilasters. To the north there is a smaller parecclesion, formed in a similar way, and in front of the chapel a small rectangular room on a transverse axis.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Some damage can be noted in the western part of the barrel vault, i. e., the medallions at the apex have been destroyed and the one farthest to the west has actually fallen off. The Proof of the Virgin scene shows clear signs of rubbing, especially on the faces. The apex of the transverse arch has been destroyed and the southern half badly damaged. The remainder of the damage is confined mainly to scratching off the eyes.

TECHNIQUE: A lime mortar layer between 4 and 10 mm thick with a considerable amount of straw. Surface smoothed over.

The flesh has been set out uniformly in a yellow ochre glykasmos over which come transparent patches of white light and drawing in dark ochre. In the draperies, where the local colours are restricted to yellow ochre and red ochre, also purple, the internal drawing is always applied in a darker tone, which contrasts with the local colour. On bright (yellow) robes this is done in

purple and on both the dark tones in black. The internal areas enclosed by this drawing are then filled with white lights, which in the case of the dark tones are transparent and on the bright ones are applied in pure white. Nearly all the lights that are applied in patches (there are triangles and bars and oval shapes) are fuzzed out in one place or are at least broken up by placing dots or triangles alongside them. Sharp lines form a link with the dark internal drawing.

INSCRIPTION: There is an inscription on the cornice over the west entrance. When completed with the help of the older readings (cf. Je II. 1, 309—311) it runs as follows:

[ΕΚΑΔΙΕΠΤΙΘΙ Ο ΝΑΟC ΟΥΤΟC ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC ΒΑΡΒΑ]ΡΑC ΕΠΗ ΒΑΧΑΛΗΑC ΚΟΙ[ΤΑ]
ΝΤΗΝΟΥ [Κ Β]ΑC[ΙΛΕΙ]ΟΥ
[ΕΤΟΥC ΕΕΑΚΑC ΦΚΘ ΚΕ ΗΑΙΚΘΗΝΟC Δ ΚΕ] ΜΗ(ΝΙ) ΜΑΗΟΥ ΗC <ΗC> ΤΑC Ε ΔΗΑ
CΥΝΑΡΟΜΗC ΒΑΧΑΕΙΟΥ ΔΙΟ
[ΜΕCΤΙΚΟΥ Κ ΕΠΥ ΘΥΡΟΝ Υ ΑΝΑΘΝΟΚΟΝΤ]ΕC ΕΥΧΕCΤΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥ[Τ]ΟΥ ΔΙ[Α]
ΤΟΝ ΚΝ.

Only the right half of the inscription is preserved to-day, but the old copies appear to be reliable. The important point is that the inscription announces that the painting of the church was started or finished under the Emperors Constantine and Basil on a 5th day of May (of a fourth indiction in the cosmic year 65.). Possible years are 1006 or 1021. The donor was a certain δομέστικος τῶν θυρῶν called Basil.

SOĞANLI

BELLİ KİLİSE I - KUPELİ KİLİSE. HALKALI KİLİSE

SITUATION: In the northern arm of the valley. We climb through the village and reach the church by means of a footpath halfway up the valley. It is easily seen because it has a dome with a conical roof.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 273—291; Rott 140—142; Laf N 4—5.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 182, 183.3 and 4; Rott 140, Illusts. 43—45.

ARCHITECTURE: A three-aisled basilica with chamfered pillars and three apses. Niches along the left, or north, aisle. To the west there is a narrow narthex added on in front, which was only as broad as the central aisle to begin with. It was later completed and was also given passages through to the side aisles.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Except for the better preserved scenes from both tiers in the southern half of the barrel vault over the northern side aisle, all the paintings have suffered very badly

indeed. We particularly notice the unusually severe rubbing (erosion caused by the wind ?). Scraping and stone-throwing could hardly be blamed for this. Most of the paintings have been rubbed off down to the preliminary sketch and the undercoat.

TECHNIQUE: A smoothed painting ground of lime and straw 2 to 4 mm thick. The preliminary sketch was done in ochre. This was followed by a grey-green proplasmos with white high-lighting on the brighter parts. The glykasmos subsequently applied in the flesh tone has disappeared almost entirely as it was probably done in secco. Remains of the drawing in dark ochre have survived.

In the draperies a meagre amount of darker drawing has been put on the local colour (with green it was put on in ochre). The actual modelling was then done in thin white lines, occasionally radiating out from round shapes. Triangle shapes are more uncommon (Angel in the Calling of John).

We might be tempted to attribute the four tiers in the northern side aisle and those in the central aisle to different masters, but there is no basis for this except the difference in the proportions of the figures, which can probably be ascribed to variations in the tier height available. The difference in the state of preservation in these two aisles helps to give us this impression. But there are no technical grounds for making this distinction.

SOĞANLI

KARABAŞ KİLİSE

XLVIII SITUATION: Roughly level with the Belli Kilise on the opposite side of the valley, but rather lower down.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 333—360; Rott 135—139; Swoboda 124 f.; H. Grégoire, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 33 (1909) 96.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 196—205; Rott 137, *Illust.* 42; Laf NN 11—14.

ARCHITECTURE: A single-aisled naos with barrel vaulting and adorned with niches. There is an apse in the east and three further chapels to the south.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Apart from some marks of stone-throwing on the barrel vault and many graffiti on the walls, the paintings have survived in a fairly good state, in spite of being badly blackened.

TECHNIQUE: The church has been painted at different times by different methods. Three different painting grounds can be distinguished. The first is a layer of lime or gesso and tow. It can still be seen on the barrel vault, the apse conch and some parts of the walls (especially on the right-hand screen in front of the apse). From the cycle painted on it the drawing is still recognisable in parts. In the apse there is a Prophetic Vision (the head of Christ has come into view again over the altar canopy of the Communion of the Apostles) and in the naos there is a cycle in two tiers on both halves of the vault.

This layer I was covered over on the vault by a thin lime opsis just like a coat of paint. Over this comes the painting of layer II in one tier on both halves of the vault. The painting in this layer must have been carried out by a different method or must have been partially restored by a different method, as parts which have bright local colours (grey, green, bright red) have not changed at all or only slightly, whereas all the faces and the darker local colours have darkened very considerably. This has split up the painting from a visual point of view. The various parts of the draperies also show differences in painting structure. In the brightly coloured parts only white light has been put on the local colour to supply internal detail, i. e., the local colour is left as shadow. In the dark sections, on the other hand, the drawing is added in black. There is also sparing use of white lines applied as a transparent wash.

The technique used for the faces is basically the same as for the dark draperies. Starting with a medium tone of brown, the painter introduces both light and shade and also dark drawing, which is almost black. But this is not done in the form of lines, as in the draperies, but in graduated patches which make soft modelling possible. The two sharply contrasting tones and methods of painting, often within a single figure, cannot have been intended originally. We need not even consider the possibility of two painters working here. The answer is that two tones have behaved differently in the course of ageing. This can be ascribed to differences in the colouring pigments or the binding media. We can assume that it was the latter. Organic binding media, usually sizes and glues, are hygroscopic and so become damp and sticky very easily. Dirt and soot adhere to them more readily than to dry painting with pure lime.

In layer III a straw mortar 4 to 5 mm thick is once again used as the painting ground. Niches and walls below the cornice are covered with it. We can occasionally see it coming over an earlier plaster layer with painting on it (probably I); the right-hand screen in front of the apse is the clearest instance of this. It is also evident here that layer III is a new edition of the earlier painting, as it repeats the same motifs, occasionally with fresh ornamental additions. Layer III occurs essentially on the north and south walls below the cornice and also the west wall, including the cornice and the inscription upon it. The painting in this layer has been so badly damaged and, above all, so severely blackened that the details of it can only be recognised with difficulty. In contrast to the vault the technique is uniform. The overall blackening no doubt indicates that glue-type binding media were used here too.

A few colour residues from layer IV can be detected, especially in the Presentation in the Temple, but also in other scenes on the vault. This is a uniform coat of green, probably secco, covering not only the grey background and the picture inscriptions, but also parts of the figures in layer II — in particular, Simeon in the Presentation in the Temple. We almost get the impression that this green layer once covered the whole of the vault, but later came off. At the cornice the painting ground of layer III overlaps the cornice painting of layer II.

It is very difficult to assess the paintings in the apse. The painting on layer I with the remains of the Prophetic Vision is clearly recognisable. But the Communion of the Apostles painted over it on a thin layer of lime presents us with quite a problem. The basic substance of this belongs to layer II. Apart from the composition and drawing, the only parts surviving in their original state are the heads of the second and third (and first ?) Apostles (together with parts of their garments) from the series on the right. The rest was painted over later on.

INSCRIPTION: Over the west door we find the following inscription painted on layer III on the cornice:

† ΕΚΑΔΙΕΡΓΗΘΙ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟC ΔΗΑ CYNΔΡΟΜΙC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Π[ΡΟ]ΤΟCΠΑΘ[Α]ΡΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ CΚΕΠΙΔΙ ΚΕ ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΙC ΜΟΝΑΧ ΚΕ ΝΥΦΟΝΟC ΑΧ ΕΙΠΙ ΒΑCΙΑΕΟC ΚΩΝ
CΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΑ ΕΤΟC CΦΞΘ ΗΝΔΙΚΘΗΟΝΟC ΙΔ Υ ΑΝΑΘΗΝΟCΚΩΝΤΕC
ΕΥΧΕCΘΕ ΑΥΤΟΥC ΔΗΑ ΤΩ ΚΝ ΑΜΗΝ

The donors named are a certain Protospatharios, or Captain of the Guards, called Michael Scepides, a nun called Catherine and a monk called Nyphon. The date given for the painting is the cosmic year 6569 with a 14th indiction, corresponding by the Christian reckoning to 1060/61. The Emperor was Constantine X Ducas.

The numerals ΦΞ and Θ have been scratched in, apparently to correct the numerals (Ψ and Ν according to Jerphanion) written on by mistake. Further inscriptions in the wall niches name the donors in the portraits. In the east niche on the south wall there is another Spatharios from the Scepides family, whose first name is no longer recognisable. In the west niche of the north wall there are Irene and Mary, the nun Catherine and probably the Protospatharios Michael Scepides himself, as mentioned in the dedicatory inscription. His picture is preserved, but not the inscription.

Then in the middle niche we have Eudocia and the monk Nyphon (here Nynphon), also mentioned in the dedicatory inscription. For the possible relationship between the persons named see Je II.1, 339 f.

SOĞANLI

CANAVAR KİLİSE

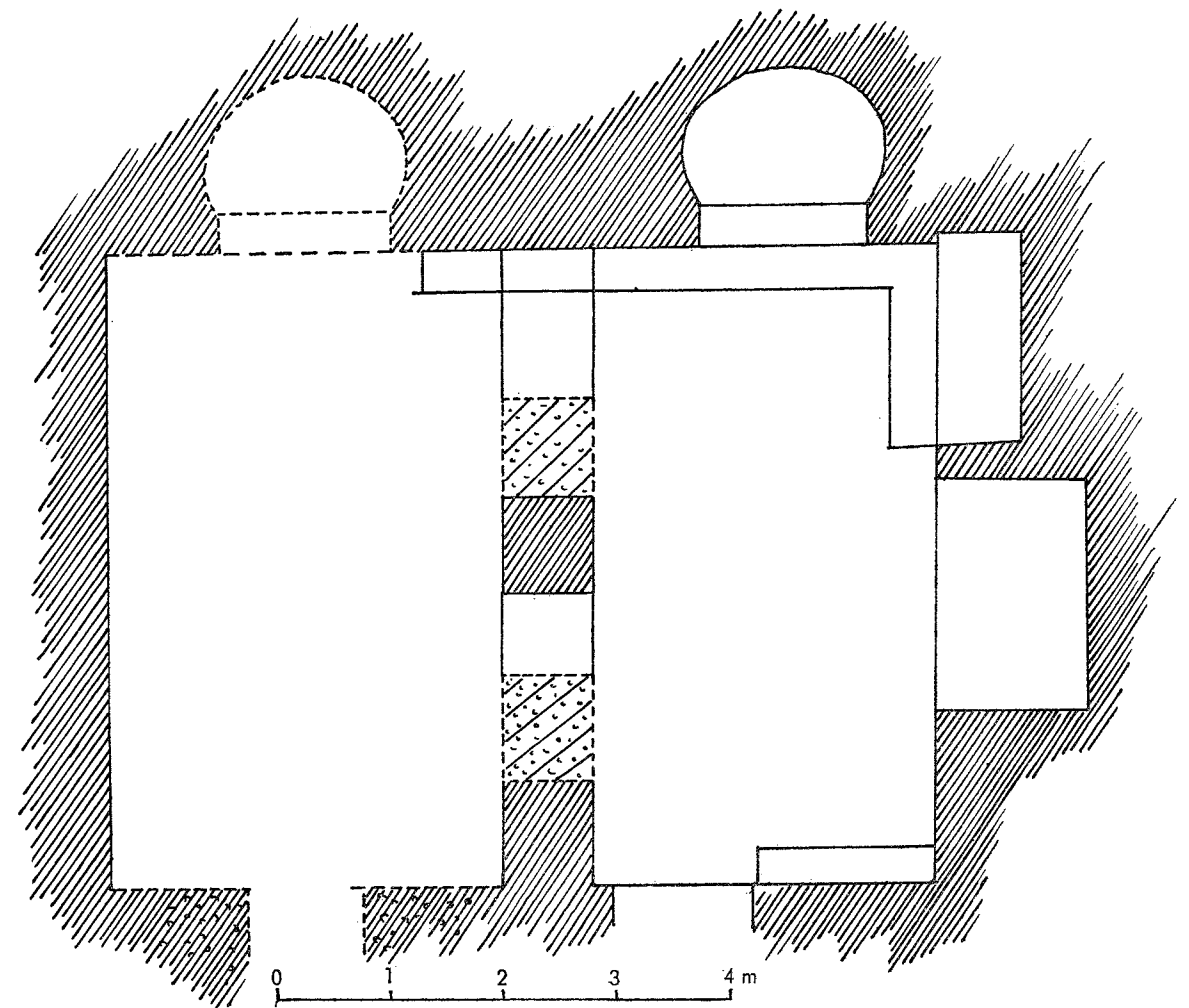
XLIX SITUATION: About 300 m farther along the valley of the Karabaş Kilise on the same side, but almost on the valley floor.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 361—368; Rott 143 f.; Laf NN 133.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 206—208.

ARCHITECTURE: A double-aisled church with barrel vaulting and two apses. In the right, or south, aisle two deep burial chambers have been hollowed out on the right. The pillar separating the aisles and also the western tongue of wall have been modified from the east side and reduced in size.

DECORATION: The left aisle once included a small Boyhood of Jesus cycle with the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Magi (?) and the Presentation in the Temple on the vault and representations of different Saints in the lower parts. The most important was St. Catherine on the right with a subsidiary figure, (Ε)ΒΔΟΚΙ(Α) ΔΟΥ ΧΥ, whom Jerphanion (II. 1, 363) tried to connect



with the Eudocia mentioned in the Karabaş Kilise and enumerated among the donors — perhaps a member of the Scepides family.

On the vaulting of the right aisle there is a Last Judgement, in the apse a Deesis and down below a Communion of the Apostles.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The paintings in the left aisle are in a pathetic condition. They are so badly damaged that not even the scenes can be identified. The barrel vault is completely blackened. In the right aisle the soot-blackening process has reached an advanced stage. In the lower part scribblings by visitors have defaced what little has survived.

TECHNIQUE: Painting ground I in the left aisle goes round the pillar and over on to the walls of the right-hand aisle. The painting ground of the barrel vault (II) in the right-hand aisle goes, on the pillars, over painting ground I, but certainly did not extend further down the pillars, as it becomes thinner and thinner as it approaches the red horizontal separating band. The plaster on the south vault is not uniform. There is an irregular join running obliquely over the barrel vault. The ground of the back, or western, part encroaches upon the ground of the front, or eastern,

part, which shows that it was applied later. On the apse wall the plaster ground of the vault also extends down over the figures of the Saints to the right of the apse, but much of it has now come off here and so layer I is visible over an expanse of about 30 cm.

It is not certain how the painting in the tomb niches on the right-hand side of the south aisle fits into the general scheme. The mortar layers on the vault are later, as they come down over the layers extending upwards from the niches. The visual and colour transition was made by means of a few brush strokes. The white line marking the downward limit of the red separating band belongs to the vault painting, but its colour tone has been adapted to suit the niche painting. The opportunity was also taken of smoothing over and matching faulty parts of the niches with fresh mortar.

A striking feature is the partial blackening of the barrel vault, as yet unexplained, unless it was caused by shepherds' open fires. The smoke from them would always have found the same way out and would have affected the other parts much less or not at all.

The painting technique in the Last Judgement is primitive and schematic. The flesh is represented by a dark brownish green glykasmos. Thin shadow parts round the eyes and nose, along the edge of the face and on the neck are applied in the form of wide and rather darker brush strokes. The overall picture is completed by even darker drawing for the eyebrows, eyelids, nose, mouth, ears and hair. No lights can be seen on the flesh. This does not apply to the draperies, on which rough lines of light and shade are set down close beside one another.

SOĞANLI

GÖK KİLİSE - CHURCH WITH THE STAG

L SITUATION: About halfway from the village to the Church of St. Barbara, but on the left side of the valley, a few metres above the actual bed of the stream.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 369—372; Rott 144 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 200 f.

ARCHITECTURE: A double-aisled chapel. The left, or north, aisle is badly damaged.

DECORATION: On the west lunette of the north aisle a picture of St. Eustace with an important inscription has survived. Otherwise the decoration of the naos (description by Jerphanion, loc. cit.) has been almost completely destroyed.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Apart from the picture of St. Eustace, the right half of which is very well preserved (the left half with the Saint himself is completely destroyed), nothing of importance has survived.

TECHNIQUE: The picture of St. Eustace is painted on pure lime or gesso and tow. The contours and internal drawing are always done in a deeper version of the local colour. On top

of this there are pure white lights which pass over into a transparent wash as they approach the edge, so creating fairly gentle gradations. The colours are confined to brownish to red ochre, grey (for the background) and green (for part of the clefts in the rock). The inscriptions are in yellow ochre. The luminous crucifix of the stag representing Christ is now black, like the name O ATIOE E(YCTAΘIO)C between the dedicatory inscription and the text from the Acts of the Martyrs. Here a change in colour is to be suspected.

INSCRIPTION: Apart from the inscription on the picture of St. Eustace (Je II. 1, 371), referring to the text in the Acts of the Martyrs (AA. SS. Sept. VI, 124), there are fragments of an inscription running along the frame on top (Je II. 1, 372, Inscr. 206):

[† YE ΘY ΦΙΑΝΘΡΩ]ΙΕ ΦΟΙΑΤΕ ΤΟ ΕΩ ΔΟΥ [ΑΩ] Α ΠΑΘΑΠΙΟ ΕΙΗΙ ΤΟΥ
ΧΡΕΩΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟ ΚΕ ΤΡΑΠΗΤΟΝ ΤΙΟΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ

The person referred to is, once again, a member of the Scepidēs family, who were so well represented in the Karabaş Kilise. This time it is John, Strategos, Epi Chreophyliaku, Consul and Protospatharios. So the painting here would presumably belong to about the same period as the painting in the Karabaş Kilise.

ARABSUN-GÜLŞEHİR

KARŞ KİLİSE

SITUATION: On the highway from Nevşehir to Gülşehir, just a few kilometres before Gülşehir, we LI
come to a sign indicating the Karş Kilise (Saint Juan!) about 200 m to the left.

LITERATURE: Je II. 1, 1—16; Rott 245 f.; Laf NN 122—127.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Je pl. III, 145 f.; Laf NN Figs. 3—4.

ARCHITECTURE: On the ground floor a cruciform domed naos with an apse. Later a single-aisled naos with niches and a curious eastern portion was hollowed out on top of it. In front of the apse, to the right and left, are the angle compartments of a cross-domed church. These are pulled rather into the shape of parallelograms. Each one has a small dome. The upper church has destroyed the dome of the lower one and its opening has been covered over with wooden planks (rabbeting). The same applies to the western part of the upper church, where the floor has fallen down into the portion below. The upper church is therefore the later of the two (Jerphanion made the mistake of thinking it was earlier).

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Apart from the lower areas and the end of the dedicatory inscription, the apse decoration has been destroyed. Large parts have also broken off in the western half of the north vault. The whole of the painting has become almost completely black. We must blame organic binding media for this. In addition, a great collection of scribbled names have completely defaced all the accessible parts.

TECHNIQUE: The original painting was probably applied largely with organic binding media (bran extract and so on) to a layer of plaster with tow 2 to 3 mm thick. On the flesh the only marking on the glykasmós seems to be the drawing, which has been done with a pointed brush. In the draperies there are clumsy outlines with fairly bright and very stiff lights added. The original colour effect can no longer be appreciated owing to universal blackening. In one place (Koimesis, or Dormition of the Virgin) someone appears to have tried to clean it off (probably with water). From the surviving remnants we can conclude that the colours were yellow and ochre with a meagre amount of red.

INSCRIPTION: In the apse, where the conch begins:

[...ΕΚΤΟΝΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΗ ΒΑΧΑΕΟΝΤΟC] ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΔΑΚΚΑΦΗ ΕΤΟΥC ΣΤΨΚΕ
[Κ]Ε ΕΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) ΙΕ Μ(Η)ΝΗ ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ ΗC Τ(ΑC) ΚΕ

There is complete uncertainty about the beginning of the inscription. For the rest of it Jerphanion based himself almost entirely on Rott. One definite, i. e., legible, feature to-day is the end with the dating, which gives the 25th day of April of a 15th indiction in the cosmic year 6720 as the time of completion (?). This corresponds to 1212. In connection with the far-reaching historical conclusions drawn by Jerphanion from this inscription and the one at Söviş (Je II. 1, 5—7, and Les inscriptions cappadociennes et l'histoire de l'empire grec de Nicée, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 [1935] 239—256), compare the critical comments made recently, and with justification, by G. P. Schiemenz (Zur politischen Zugehörigkeit des Gebietes um Sobesos und Zoropassos in den Jahren um 1200, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 14 [1965] 207—238).

The Irene, Mary and Isaac represented in the niches of the south wall and mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified (cf. the relevant comments in Laf NN 125 f.).

IRHALA

KOKAR KİLİSE

LII SITUATION: From Irhala, which can be reached by car, we follow the gorge-like ravine of the stream of Melendiz Suyu in the direction of Belisırma. The chapel is situated on the left bank shortly before the second great bend in the stream.

LITERATURE: Thierry 115—136; Laf NN 166 f.; Lafontaine B. Z. 58 (1965) 135.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 58—64 and IV.

ARCHITECTURE: A single-aisled naos with a barrel vault and an apse which has now collapsed. The original entry into the church was from down below by way of a staircase chimney in the north-west corner. Two chapels set on a transverse axis in relation to the main chapel and dug

further into the rock with apses to the south, the first one with a narthex, were used for burial purposes and came into existence after the main chapel was painted. The window and door destroyed portions of the painting on the west wall of the main chapel.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Except for the apse and also the breaches made by the door and window in the west wall, all the paintings have been preserved, but have been badly damaged on accessible wall areas by scribbling, scraping out, stone-throwing, etc. In spite of the stone-throwing the frescoes on the barrel vault are in a good state.

TECHNIQUE: Gesso and straw with an admixture of sand were used as the plaster ground and the surface was smoothed over. The dominant local colours are red, green, yellow and grey. The drawing has been done on all these tones in dark grey. White lights occur only occasionally (especially in the Ascension and the Deesis). They appear as pure white triangular shapes and broad lines, both framed by thinner lines, and also as a transparent wash (in the Apostles). Both techniques are also to be found in the Gospel scenes on the walls. Compare, in particular, the Arrest of Christ and Christ before Pilate. The Apostles round the Cross on the barrel vault are different. There is no high-lighting on their robes.

The drawing of the faces on a pink glykasmós applied in patches is geometrically hard and bold, with black and white lines and black triangular areas on the cheeks. Either an attempt was made here, unsuccessfully, to apply shading with a transparent wash or — and this seems just as likely — cinnabar was mixed with the shadow colour and has turned black.

The two different techniques for the draperies lead us to think that there were two painters. This view is supported by examination of the backgrounds and ground planes. A number of scenes (the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Ascension and the Philoxenia) have uniformly green backgrounds. Others (the Flight into Egypt, the Last Supper, the Arrest, Pilate, the Apostles round the Cross) have yellow ground planes and grey backgrounds. An exception is the Deesis on the west lunette, which has a grey background with a green ground plane, also the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, where it is pink. But, as far as we can see in spite of the damage to the walls, all the faces appear to have been done by the same hand.

IRHALA

EĞRİ TAŞ KİLİSE

SITUATION: Shortly before the Kokar Kilise, but on the right bank of the Melendiz Suyu.

LIII

LITERATURE: Thierry 39—72; Laf NN 167—170.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 24, 26—37 and I.

ARCHITECTURE: A large ensemble consisting of a big flat-vaulted chapel with an apse and burial chapels down below, extending away out to the right and left. The western part of the chapel

has been destroyed by a great fall of rock and the floor has gone down into the burial chamber below. Markings on the walls show that it was replaced by a floor resting on beams.

DECORATION: Apart from very primitive paintings in the burial chapels (the north chapel with a cross on the vaulting similar to that in the Kokar Kilise), the eastern part of a three-tiered cycle on both sides of the barrel vault has survived on the vaulting of the main chapel, the apex and centre of which is occupied, once again, by a monumental painted cross, and on the walls. I am giving the sequence of the individual tiers in a series of lines, going from south to north. Inside the lines and tiers the direction is from east to west:

South wall: the Baptism, the Nativity

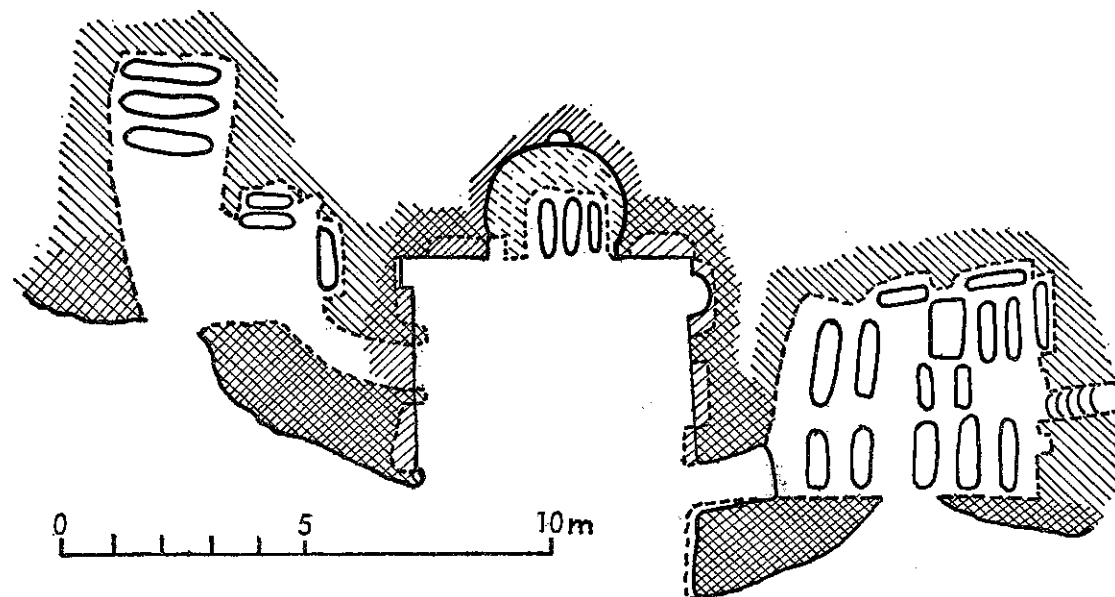
Southern half of the vault: Joseph's Dream, the Flight into Egypt
the Nativity
the Annunciation, the Visitation

Apex of the vault: the Cross

Northern half of the vault: Mary enthroned between two Archangels
the Annunciation at the Well, the Magi
the Denial by Peter, the Washing of Feet, the Agony in the Garden

North wall: ? ... the Myrophores

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The paintings have been badly damaged by stone-throwing, but they are so high up that there have only been unaimed shots which have not interfered with the essentials.



The lower parts of the walls were damaged most by visitors scribbling on them and portions being knocked off; the walls were also affected by the collapse of the floor.

TECHNIQUE: The primitive technique used for the paintings is closely connected with the method at Kokar, Pürenli and the Yılanlı Kilise. The vivid local colours (red, green, ochre and yellow) are livened up by a few rather sweeping brush strokes in a deeper version of the local colour. Lights are very rarely seen (Mary between Michael and Gabriel, also the Visitation). Once again the faces have been drawn in a hard grey colour over a light ochre glykasmos and the cheek and forehead shadows have been applied schematically in a brownish black. Occasionally eyebrows, eyes and nose are surrounded by broad white lines.

IRHALA

PÜRENLİ SEKİ KİLİSE

SITUATION: Shortly after the Kokar Kilise, on the same side, but behind the sharp curve in the valley in front of which the Kokar Kilise is situated. LIV

LITERATURE: Thierry 137—153; Laf NN 165 f.; Lafontaine B. Z. 58 (1965) 135.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 65—70.

ARCHITECTURE: A double naos with the two parts separated by pillared arcades and each with an apse. The north wall of the chapel on the left is divided up by niches, the one farthest to the east being deeper and provided with an apsidiole. In front of the whole structure there are narthices with a door connecting them transversely with one another. They do not, however, provide access to the south chapel, but only to the north chapel.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The scenes are all recognisable as such, but all the faces and many of the figures have been destroyed by scraping and scratching.

TECHNIQUE: Lime or gesso, both with straw and a small amount of sand, has been used throughout as the painting ground in a layer 2 to 3 mm thick.

The vivid and colourful paintings are modulated by only a small amount of drawing in grey. As not a single face has survived, we cannot say definitely how the flesh tint was painted. Meagre remains on the figure of Christ on the Cross indicate that only simple drawing in a dark colour was applied to an ochre-coloured glykasmos verging on grey. There are no white lights to be seen.

Predominant in nearly all the scenes is a grey ground with a yellow ground plane. Only in the Annunciation and in the Betrayal by Judas do we find a green ground plane in parts instead of a yellow one. As the method of painting here — in contrast to that in the Kokar Kilise — is otherwise uniform and identical in structure, we cannot assume from these few points that there were two painters working here.

IRHALA

AĞAÇ ALTI KİLİSE - CHURCH UNDER THE TREE

LV SITUATION: About 600 m after the great bend in the Melendiz Suyu, on the same side as the previous chapel.

LITERATURE: Thierry 73—87; Laf NN 159—162.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 38—43 and II.

ARCHITECTURE: A cruciform naos with three apses. The dome over the crossing rests on squinches over which there is a frieze.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The church is largely filled with rubble; the central and north apse have been destroyed. The paintings on the wall parts and barrel vaults have suffered badly, but on the dome and the south barrel vault they are still in a good state.

TECHNIQUE: As the painting ground a pure gesso plaster has been used, with the addition perhaps of tow, but this has not survived.

The method of painting is primitive in its use of vivid colours (only red, yellow and green). On the local colour we see drawing in a dark and rather dirty local tone, interspersed with lines of light applied with a broad brush. On the yellowish pink glykasmos of the faces there is clumsy drawing in grey, occasionally reinforced by ochre lines (eyebrows of Christ in the Ascension). White lights and grey shadows are rare (nose and cheeks of Christ, also in the Ascension).

In the drawing of the large and lavish ornaments, circles have been marked out with compasses (compass line and point of impact still recognisable). There is free-hand painting on top of this.

IRHALA

SÜMBÜLÜ KİLİSE - HYACINTH CHURCH

LVI SITUATION: A short distance after the Ağaç altı Kilise and, once again, on the same side of the valley. Between the two chapels there is a ladder leading up out of the gorge. The facade of the monastery to which the chapel belongs is easily recognised because of its distinctive arcatures.

LITERATURE: Thierry 175—181; Laf NN 158 f.; Laf B. Z. 58 (1965) 135.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Rott 275, Illust. 100; Thierry pl. 78—82; Laf NN Fig. 33.

ARCHITECTURE: A rectangular naos with an apse and a small dome in the front part. Because of the two chapels added on to the north and south, each with an apse, we get the impression that this is a cruciform building.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Viewed as a whole, the painting has been well preserved. Large parts, from the Presentation in the Temple onwards, are missing only from the north chapel and the north

wall of the main chapel. Otherwise the damage is confined to broken corners beside doorways and the considerable amount of rubbing shown by many figures of the Saints and by the faces, also scratched out eyes.

TECHNIQUE: There is variety in the method in keeping with the quality of the painting, which stands out clearly from the rest of the area. Once again a layer of gesso and tow was used as the plaster base.

Over a preliminary brush sketch in violet ochre, combining lively inspiration and a sure touch, and including all the patterning of the internal drawing, the draperies were set out as a mass of local colour (a great deal of yellow ochre and red ochre). Over this comes the darker drawing of internal detail, which only defines the main parts of the body. Within this framework white lights give the figure an appearance of roundness and plasticity. Triangular shapes, blobs bisected down the middle and rounded oblongs are popular. From one end of these we usually see three to five rays emerging and one of them often connects up with the next light figure. There are lines of light, sometimes starting off as rounded hooks, which accompany the large shapes. Here and there — especially on the wings of the Angel bust in the main apse — we can see complementary drawing in green on top of purple.

For the flesh a grey ochre undercoat containing a very little green is used everywhere and from this the painter always goes in the direction of light. He applies warm flesh colour and then white lights on the forehead and the bridge of the nose and at the corners of the eyes. To represent shadow the undercoat is left as it is. The painting is completed by a very little drawing (eyes, eyebrows, sides of the nose, mouth, ears and hair).

IRHALA

YILANLI KİLİSE

SITUATION: Not far from the Sümbülü Kilise, but on the other side of the valley.

LVII

LITERATURE: Rott 271; Thierry 89—114; Laf N; Laf NN 162—165; Lafontaine B. Z. (1965) 134 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Rott 272; Thierry pl. 44—57 and III.

ARCHITECTURE: A flat-roofed cruciform naos with an apse. To the west there is an adjacent room with a longitudinal barrel vault. Adjoining this on the south is a vestibule and on the north a deep burial chamber with a small apse in the east.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: There are occasionally considerable parts missing, especially from the Last Judgement on the west wall and the southern half of the barrel vault (part broken off above the entrance door and a bad patch in the top tier), also at two places on the right- and left-hand side of the apse. Sometimes (especially in the apse) the faces have been completely obliterated, but on the west vault and on the arch between the two halves of the naos they are well preserved.

TECHNIQUE: At least three painters were involved in painting the entire church. The first painted the cruciform naos (without the west arch leading into the western part of the naos). There is a fair amount of variety in his painting. He superimposed dark internal drawing and lines of light on the local colour and the glykasmos of the flesh areas. He also appears to have painted the lowest tier on the west wall.

The second master, who was responsible for the Last Judgement on the barrel vault of the western part and also the dividing arch, worked only with vivid red, green and yellow local colours modelled with just a little internal detail drawn in a dark colour. On the faces drawing and cheek shadows were crudely done in a brownish black colour.

A third master added a Deesis over the tomb of the presbyter Cosmas (Ο ΤΑΦΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΠΙΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ) on the north wall of the burial chamber. It contains the most elegant painting of all and — judging by the light technique on the draperies and the underpainting of the faces — should be attributed, if not to the master of the Sümbülü Kilise himself, at least to one of his pupils.

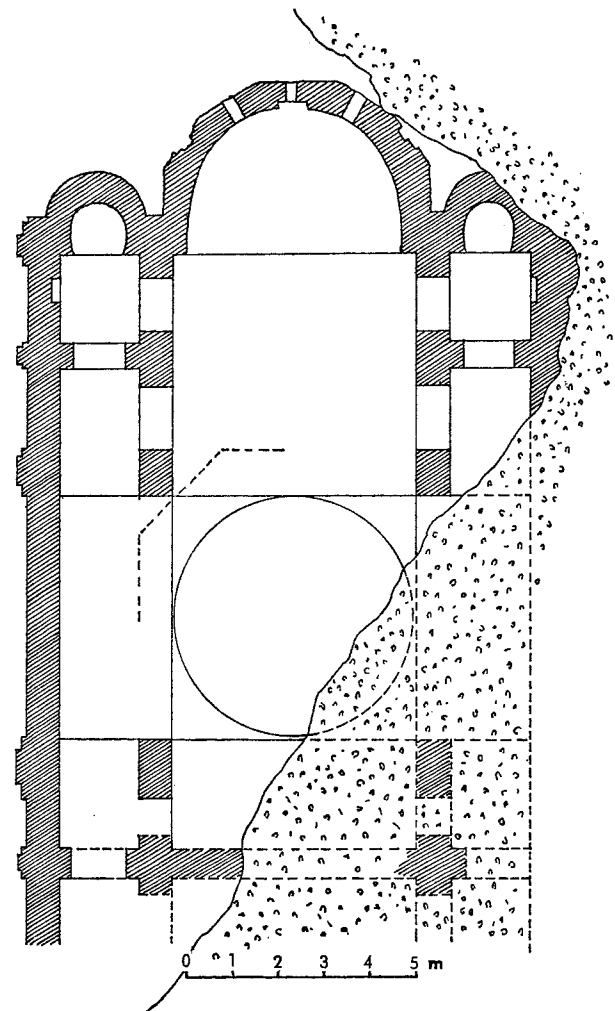
BELİSIRAMA KARAĞEDİK KİLİSE

LVIII SITUATION: About 1000 m outside Belisırma on the east bank beside the last great bend in the Melendiz Suyu. Because of the great fall of boulders we are able to climb up out of the ravine here.

LITERATURE: Rott 274—276; Ramsay-Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, London 1909, 303, 418 ff.; Laf N 476; Laf NN 155—157; Thierry 34 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 18 a—c; Ramsay-Bell 420, Fig. 342.

ARCHITECTURE: Not a cave church, but a monumental cross-domed church built of freestone with an extended east arm and pastophories on both sides of the externally octagonal apse. The vaulting, dome and south-west portions of the rising masonry were shattered by the fall of rock.



STATE OF PRESERVATION: The pictures in this church, which was probably painted all over at one time (there are traces of plaster everywhere), have been for the most part destroyed. In the prothesis a Pursuit of Elizabeth has been preserved and in the south-east angle compartment scenes from the legend of St. George, also medallions of the Saints on the arches leading from the two east angle compartments to the east cross arm of the naos. These scenes have also been damaged by considerable rubbing in places.

TECHNIQUE: There is a connection in method with the workshops we came across in Göreme. Over preliminary sketching in ochre the local colours used are yellow ochre, red ochre, green and grey. In the draperies there is an abundance of high-lighting over the local colour, in particular, large triangular lights and semi-elliptical shapes. These are interspersed with a series of two to four lines and also shadow lines in a deeper version of the local tone.

Assessment of the flesh tint technique is difficult. On parts that have been rubbed off we can see a green undercoat under the glykasmos (St. Nicitus). The glykasmos superimposed on it is of a reddish brown colour, but there appears to have been occasional use of a colouring pigment that subsequently turned black (perhaps cinnabar). This would have been either put on as a special layer on its own or mixed in with it. The picture was finished off with the drawing which comes on top of this. No lights can be seen on the flesh. So the painter worked towards dark colour effects.

The base line for the carefully painted inscriptions (legend of St. George) was always incised in advance.

BELİSIRAMA

BEZİR ANA KİLİSE

SITUATION: On the north side of the valley basin in which the Karağedik Kilise is situated, high up. LIX

LITERATURE: Laf NN 154 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Laf NN Fig. 31 (Andronicus); Restle collection (the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace).

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The decoration in this excellently fashioned little rock chapel has, unfortunately, been very badly damaged (altar table with ciborium between Angels and Church Fathers, Deesis in the apse, Christ Emmanuel bust in the left-hand niche in the apse, Demetrius and George in the niches in the north wall, Euthymius, John the Baptist, Nicholas, Sergius and Bacchus in the south wall niches, Andronicus and Pantaleimon (?) on medallions, the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace over the entrance door, remains of the Baptism and the Transfiguration on the flat roof. See the description in Laf NN 155). Much of the painting has broken off, revealing the original red decoration, which is an imitation of coloured brick and represents the finest work of this kind in Cappadocia.

TECHNIQUE: The painting superimposed on it is of excellent quality. Starting out from the local colour, the artist has gone in the direction of light effects. Transparent lights pass over into pure white streaks of light. The contours have been drawn in a slightly deeper version of the local colour and are interposed almost imperceptibly between the lights. It is all designed to give delicate gradations.

On the flesh, painting began with a grey undercoat and proceeded to an ochre-coloured glykasmos and then to pure white high-lights round the eyes and eyebrows and also on the nose and chin. This excellent painting is finished off with delicate drawing in darker ochre.

BELİSIRAMA

KIRK DAM ALTI KİLİSE

LX SITUATION: High up in the left rock wall of the Melendiz Suyu, about 500 m outside the actual village.

LITERATURE: Thierry 201—213; Laf N; Laf NN 148—154.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 93—100.

ARCHITECTURE: A completely irregular chamber with arcosolium niches on all sides and burial chambers lower down, at the bottom of the cave. The apse has come away from the main chamber to a very considerable extent. A vaulted roof.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Evidence of stone-throwing and scraping everywhere, also innumerable inscriptions by visitors on the walls. All this has played havoc with the paintings.

TECHNIQUE: The colours (green, red, ochre, grey-blue) are muddy and, except for the white, have probably darkened owing to use of a glue-type binding medium. Composition, technique and drawing are based on old models, but are clumsy and schematic. Superimposed on the local colours — quite unsystematically — we find internal details drawn in with a broad brush in a darker tone in one place and light drawn in in white in another. This has mostly been applied with a pointed brush, often as a transparent wash and occasionally in pure white. The faces are set out in a muddy-looking light ochre glykasmos moulded with reddish brown ochre drawing. White lights hardly occur at all, but there are sometimes thin, transparent green shadows.

INSCRIPTION: Two donors are painted, one on each side of St. George, and they can be identified from the following inscription:

+ EKAAHEPTIΘ[H] O
TOY AΓIOY KAI ENΔOΞOY ME

IIANCEITOC NA[OC]
ΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙ[ΟΥ ΔΙΑ CΥΝΔΡΟ]
ΜΗC

ΠΟΛΥ ΠΟΘ(ΟΥ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΟΠΟΥ Τ(ΗC) ΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΜΕΝ(ΗC) ΚΥΡΑC ΘΑΜΑΡΑC Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΟΥ
ΑΜΗΡ ΑΥΤΗC
Κ(ΥΡΟΥ) ΒΑCΙΑΕΙΟΥ [Υ]ΠΛΑΤ[ΟΥ] ΤΗC ΓΕΟ[ΡΓΙΑC ΓΕΝΟ]ΜΕΝ(ΟΥ) ΙΑΝΗΥΨΙΑ ΤΟΥ
ΜΑΡΤ(ΥΡΟC) ΓΕΩΡΓΙ[ΟΥ ΥΠΕΡΕΝ]ΔΟΞ(ΟΥ) ΜΕΓ[ΑΛΟ]ΓΕΝΥC ΜΕΓΑ
ΛΟΥ CΟΥΑΤΑΝ ΜΑC
CΟΥΤΗ
[Ε]ΠΗ ΔΕ ΡΟΜΕΩΝ
ΒΑCΙΑΕΒΟΝ[Τ]ΟC
ΚΥ(ΡΟΥ) ΑΝ[ΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ]...

...[ΕΝ ΤΑ]ΙC [Η]ΜΕ[ΡΑΙC]...

There has been some argument about how the end of line 3 should be read. Lafontaine reads it as ἀνδρὲς αὐτῆς. Thierry thought it was Ἀμηνράτης. My reading of 1960 was verified on the spot in 1965 and, in agreement with the photographs, it is as follows: Ἀμῆρ αὐτῆς. The title Ἀμηνράτης is nonsense. It is either Ἀμῆρ (a simple transcription) or Ἀμηνράς (with the Greek ending as on the tombstone of Michael Comnenus Maurozomes — Konya Archaeol. Museum Inv. No. 99 of 1297 from Sille).

The church is thus dedicated to St. George who is twice depicted in it and the painting was donated by a certain (Princess ?) Thamar of Georgia and the Emir and Consul Basil, who are also named in a second inscription on the roof, at the time of the Sultan Masut II (1282—1304) and the Emperor Andronicus II (1282—1328).

BELİSIRAMA

BAHATIN SAMANLIĞI KİLİSE

SITUATION: About 300 m from the Kirk dam alti Kilise, on the same side of the valley.

LXI

LITERATURE: Thierry 155—173; Laf N 475; Laf NN 147 and 149; Lafontaine B. Z. 58 (1965) 135.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 71—77.

ARCHITECTURE: A simple naos covered with a longitudinal barrel vault and adorned with niches. It has an apse to the east and the entrance on the south side.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The faces often appear scratched. At the apex of the vault in front of the apse arch a part of the painting has broken off. The marked blackening is also to be deplored.

TECHNIQUE: The considerable blackening, which also affects the white paint here, was probably caused mainly by the use of hygroscopic binding media, favouring the deposition of soot and dirt. The painting on the draperies starts out from a local tone, for which a fairly strong colour is generally chosen (brownish red, green and grey tones are predominant). From here onwards there are two alternatives. The more usual of these is to divide up the draperies by means of large

patches of light, generally triangular and sometimes semi-oval and blob-shaped, all arranged in a topsy-turvy fashion in relation to one another, with just a few sharp lines coming in between. The best example of this is Michael on the left side of the apse. A similar effect can also be achieved in the opposite way with a few lines drawn in a deeper version of the local tone, which simply leave these shapes in the local colour to represent lights. Here too the picture may be finished off with transparent high-lighting (Christ in the Entry into Jerusalem). Both types can be found in a single figure (Deposition in the Tomb) and the brush strokes used in both are similar in character, so they are probably two alternatives available to a single painter. We have already met him — or at least his school — at Karağedik.

The faces are so badly damaged nearly everywhere that it is difficult to make any assessment. In parts (boys from the Entry into Jerusalem) they have been rubbed off down to the preliminary sketch. On other faces only a grey-coloured glykasmós can be seen to-day, showing traces of shading and drawing. There do not appear to have been any lights on the flesh.

BELİSIRAMA

DİREKLİ KİLİSE - PILLARED CHURCH

LXII SITUATION: Only about 100 m from the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilise, opposite the village.

LITERATURE: Thierry 183—192; Laf N 473—475; Laf NN 144—147; Lafontaine B. Z. 58 (1965) 135.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Laf NN Fig. 25 f.; Thierry pl. 82—89.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with pillar supports. To the south a parecclesion with an apse, which is separated from the cross-domed naos by a cruciform pillar.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The church was never painted all over. The paintings here have been partly obliterated by rubbing and the faces in the lower areas have been scraped off, if within reach.

TECHNIQUE: Two different painters have worked here at different times. Out of the vast programme of decoration originally planned only the main apse and the north apse have apparently been finished. But the plaster ground was applied everywhere. Another painter then added the tableaux of the Saints on the pillars in a primitive style.

The master responsible for the apse paintings worked with an abundance of detail. His faces reveal a thin grey undercoat. Over this came a light ochre glykasmós with a little pink added to it. The drawing has been done in reddish brown ochre, with fine lines and hatching for the shadow parts (cheek shadows of the Saint on the left of the enthroned Madonna in the north apse). Over everything he then put white lines (bridge of the nose, forehead) and dabs of white (eye and chin areas). A similar hatching technique with a deeper version of the local tone can be observed in the draperies and this is particularly clear in the left Angel in the north apse.

The aim here is to mould the structure of the garments realistically (cf. the lap folds of the Angel just mentioned). Careful placing of lights enhances the plastic effect.

The artist responsible for the Saints on the pillars worked basically in the same manner, but his lines of light and shade are schematic and geometrical and unimaginative, although showing experience of line work. He applied flesh shadows with a broad brush (see the neck area of St. Elpidius). In his case the hatching method used by the apse painter is confined to the drawing. But the two painters differ mainly in their use of colour. The apse painter's colour scale is restricted to different tones of ochre, combined with optical greys and light green. The distribution of colour is cleverly built up and usually culminates in red ochre. Compare the colour rhythm of the Church Fathers in the main apse which begins with bright colouring on both outside edges and has as its dominant note the deep red ochre of the Madonna in the centre over the niche seat. In the overall effect and within the individual colours all harshness is avoided.

The artist who painted the Saints is quite different. His tones are hard and arbitrary and he puts down light and shade harshly side by side without any regard for the organic connection between them and he surrounds the whole picture with an ornamental frame that is far too boldly drawn and coloured.

INSCRIPTION: On the cornice of the north and central apse there are two inscriptions that are difficult to read and possibly belong together:

North apse: ... KE AΦΕΕΟC TON A[M]APTH[ON] TON ΔΟΥΛΟ[N]...

Main apse: ... ΤΟΥΤΟC ΥΠΟ ΒΑΧΑΕΟC ΒΑΧΑ(ΕΙ)ΟΥ ΚΕ ΚΟCΤΑΝΘΙΝΟΥ ... ΠΕΟ...
... [ΔΙΑ CΥΝΑ]ΡΟΜΙ[C] ΙCΑΑ[Κ] ΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ...

This fixes the time for the painting of the two apses as the period of the two Emperors Basil and Constantine. The donor appears to have been a man called Isaac. The persons referred to are certainly not Basil I (867—886) and his son Constantine (869—879), but Basil II (976—1025) and his brother Constantine VIII, who was two years younger. See the detailed commentary in Laf NN 144 ff.

BELİSIRAMA

ALA KİLİSE

SITUATION: At the northern end of the village.

LITERATURE: Thierry 193—200; Laf N; Laf NN 142 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry pl. 90—92.

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with five domes over the square of the crossing and the four cross arms, a large central apse and small side apsidioles.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The decoration has been dirtied and destroyed almost completely. Only very occasionally do we see a few details revealing the original painting.



TECHNIQUE: The colours appear to be confined to ochre, going from brown to red, also grey and a muddy green. Over the local colour of the draperies lines, sometimes curved, are drawn in a deeper tone of the local colour. There are no lights to be seen anywhere.

The faces have been done in brownish glykasmos. Over this we see an abundance of fine hatching, such as is sometimes found in the work of the master who painted the Saints in the Direkli Kilise.

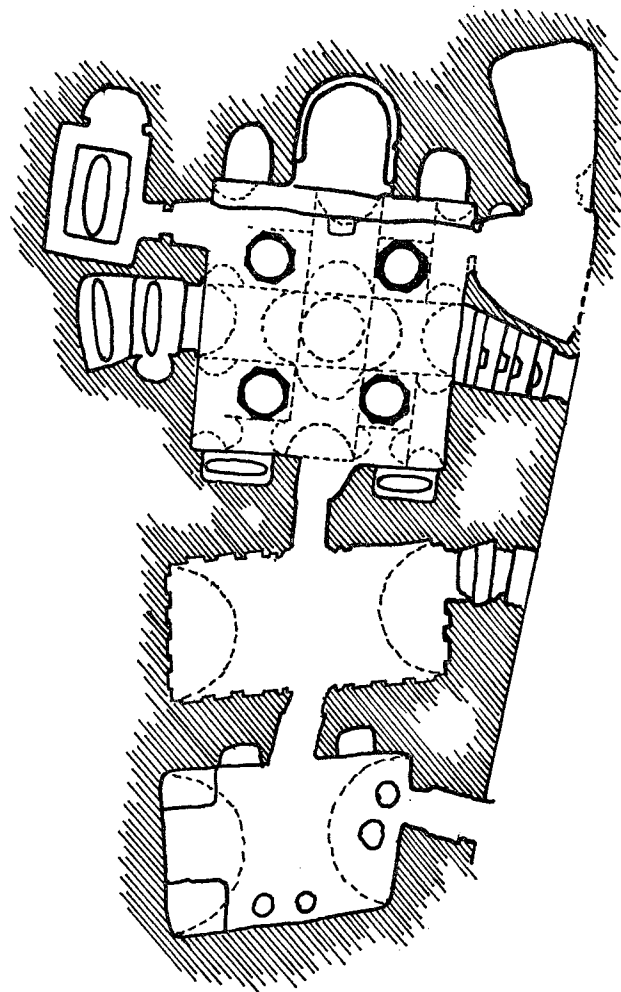
ESKİ GÜMÜŞ

LXIV SITUATION: About 7 km to the north-east of Niğde, opposite Eski Andaval and the well known "Basilica of Constantine".

LITERATURE: H. Grégoire, *Rapport...*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 33 (1909) 132—134; Michael Gough, *The monastery of Eski Gümüş — A preliminary report*, *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964) 147—161; Idem, *second preliminary report*, *ibid.* 15 (1965) 157—164; Idem, *Illustrated London News* of 11th January 1964, 50—53.

ILLUSTRATIONS: M. Gough, *op. cit.*

ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with four column supports and terminated by three apses on the east. The vaulting of the angle compartments takes the form of "continuous" barrel vaults rather like an ambulatory. The burial chambers hollowed out to the north and south, a narthex adorned with niches and roofed over with a transverse barrel vault and a residential cave, rectangular in shape, away to the west complete the group, which can be reached from the south across a large courtyard.



STATE OF PRESERVATION: Apart from a large defective patch in the apse, the paintings here and on the north wall of the church have survived in an excellent state. There is hardly any damage to faces, etc. Cleaning and conservation of the frescoes has been undertaken by the British Archaeological Institute in Ankara under M. Gough.

TECHNIQUE: Gough found three painters, one in the apse, another on the north wall and a third, the one who created the Madonna and John the Baptist, in the apsidioles. He distinguished them mainly on the basis of style. The otherwise excellent photographs hardly show whether the three painters differed also in the colour structure they used.

The faces by the apse painter appear to have a medium flesh tone as the foundation. Then come lights (on chin, bridge of nose, forehead and neck), done as a transparent wash and as lines (under the eyes), and there is also drawing in a dark colour. The same procedure can be observed in the draperies, but the brush strokes appear bolder there.

The painter of the north wall (head of Gabriel from the Annunciation) appears to have worked without any lights on the flesh. In the draperies his painting often shows greater variety than that of the apse painter, as he did not work with lines, but went from large splashes of light to shadow with use of a transparent wash and hatching (Joseph from the Nativity).

The third painter seems rather colourless, but the simplified drawing on the head of the Madonna in the north apse (no lights on the flesh) is not without a certain charm.

In the narthex and the chamber over the church other paintings, some of them simpler, have survived. See the line drawings of Gough (*Anatolian Studies*).

SILLE NEAR KONYA

KOIMESIS TES PANAGIAS

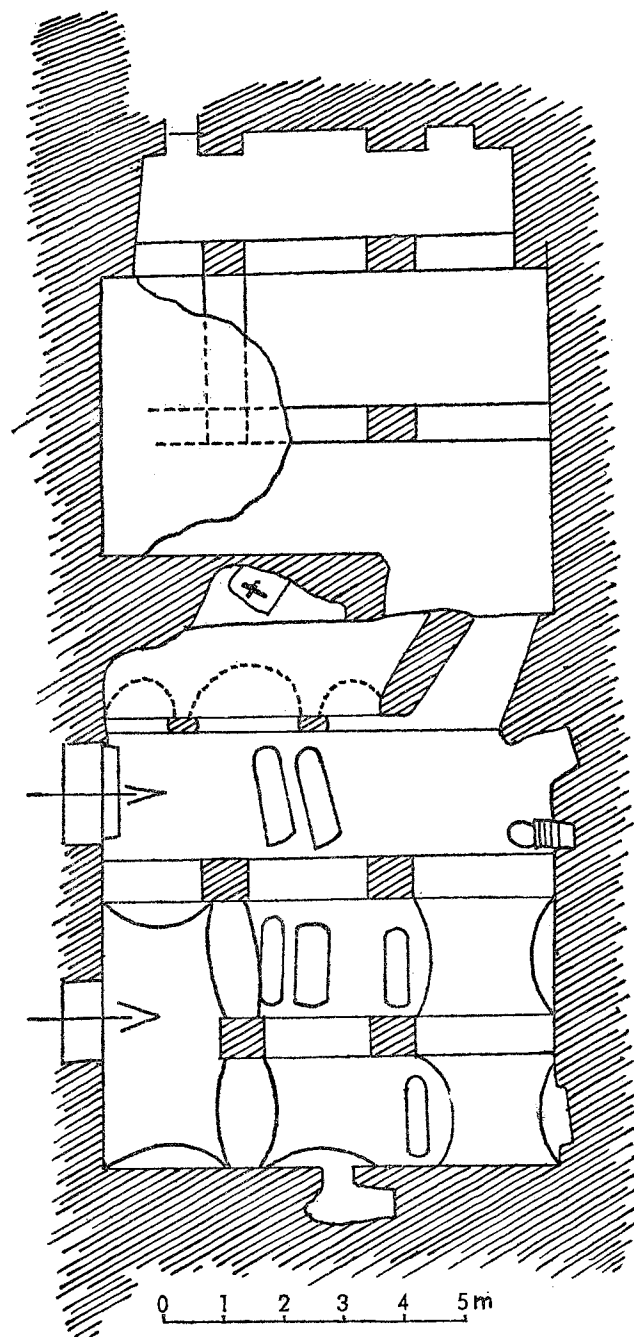
SITUATION: Coming from Konya, we drive along the stream as far as the large cross-domed church. From here it is barely 200 m up to the left and back a little way — in the first parapet of rock. LXV

LITERATURE: K. Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1905, 171; S. Del'Ōca — M. Pavan, *Sul villaggio trogloditico di Silles*, *Rassegna speleologica italiana*, VIII, 2 (1956) 112—123.

ILLUSTRATIONS: *Ibid.*

ARCHITECTURE: A naos with four pillar supports. The barrel vaults vary in direction and do not form a coordinated system, although the longitudinal concept of the basilica appears dominant. A cross passage with a flat roof comes after the eastern pair of pillars. The old three-apse arrangement has been destroyed and has been replaced by an irregularly shaped sanctuary. On the right there is a way through to the trapeza of the monastery, the ground plan of which has the same shape.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: Apart from ornaments on the inner faces of the arches, only a Koimesis (hence the name of the church) over the entrance door and figures of Saints on pillars and arches



and medallions with busts on the flat roof of the cross passage in front of the sanctuary have been preserved — in a severely blackened state.

TECHNIQUE: The paintings are on a smoothed layer of plaster with tow about 2 mm thick with a straw plaster underneath and have been very badly blackened with soot. They appear to have been cleaned at some time, as only the preliminary sketch has survived in many of the figures. The original colour effect can no longer be appreciated. Red ochre tones have survived, although blackened. The internal drawing seems bright now, but the original effect is uncertain.

AL ODA

SITUATION: 28 km to the north-west of Mut, near the highway from Silifke to Karaman.

LXVI

LITERATURE: Michael Gough, *A Church of the Iconoclast (?) Period in Byzantine Isauria, Anatolian Studies* 7 (1957) 154—161; F. W. Deichmann, review in *B. Z.* 50 (1957) 552.

ILLUSTRATIONS: In Gough, loc. cit., Figs. 1—2 and Plates X—XIII.

ARCHITECTURE: An irregular chamber with a large apse in the east and a smaller one in the south-east. A further apsidal chamber with a tomb, which can be reached by steps, is situated in the north, on a higher level. Other chambers open out to the west.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The ornamental decoration, which is divided up into areas, is best preserved on the roof. In the east apse it is somewhat blackened with smoke. On the west wall there are badly damaged scenes (the Deposition in the Tomb, the Anastasis and the Myrophores at the Tomb) over the ornamental painting. A very unusual feature is that the floor was covered with a mosaic, which was possibly earlier than the paintings.

TECHNIQUE: From the water colours that have been published and the few photographs we cannot draw any conclusions concerning the technique.

TREBIZOND

ST. SABAS - LOWER WEST CHAPEL

SITUATION: In the right-hand portion of the rock wall of Boztepe, below the radar station. We climb up past the newly built factory through gardens and bushes and so reach a small chapel on a little promontory. It is now open on all sides. From here we obtain a good view of the Boztepe wall. On the right a steep and narrow stairway in the rock climbs giddily up from the bottom to the two west chapels. A short distance to the left there is a small well. From here we clamber up a difficult path over a steep chunk of rock to the start of the sunken road leading into the east chapel.

LXVII

LITERATURE: G. Millet — D. T. Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond*, London 1936, 127—133; G. Sotiriou, *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου* 1937, 125, and *Byz. Neugriech. Jahrbücher* 13 (1937) 124—130; D. T. Rice, *Πρακτικά τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρείας* III.4 (1936—38) 67 f.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Millet-Rice pl. 31—37.

ARCHITECTURE: A chapel with a transverse barrel vault and an apse on the broad side. A parecclesion for burials, also with an apse, has been added on the left. Here, beside a cistern, a chimney with a spiral staircase leads into the upper chapel. A roundish living chamber has been hewn out at the bottom of the main chapel.

TECHNIQUE: The lower chapel shows no architectonic unity and the painting is not uniform either.

Originally only the right-hand, or south, chapel appears to have been painted. A dividing wall, the remains and foundations of which are still visible to-day, appears to separate it from the present parecclesion. But the painting of the parecclesion was probably not done until the dividing wall was built. The wall to the left of the apse of the main chapel must have been repainted in the meantime, as three fresco layers are seen to be superimposed on one another at this spot.

Layer I is important. It extends over the whole of the south chapel, which is still the best preserved part. The painter of this layer worked on the flesh with a delicacy of touch and a versatility such as we have never seen before. The different layers have all been blended into one another by use of a transparent wash and hatching, with the result that the plastic effect produced is almost excessive. The painting starts with a light ochre and fine hatching in red ochre is used to create deeper and deeper shadow effects. The shadows melt imperceptibly into the drawing. Finally, green shadow is added as a transparent wash, transparent lights are applied over the eyebrows and high-lights are dabbed on the cheek bones.

In the draperies the painter always starts with a medium tone and this is developed in two directions, towards light and shadow, with a technique ranging from a transparent wash to hard lines. Never before have we seen the whole mood of the painting so freely developed from a single medium tone in such pure and flowing gradations. Usually we found the structure more sharply divided into layers.

SOURCES: We actually have written material available on the Cave Monastery of St. Sabas. Michael Panaretos reports on it twice in his chronicle.

p. 13 (ed. Fallmerayer 1844), dated Monday, 3rd May, 1344.

Ἀπῆλθεν ὁ μέγας δοῦξ ὁ Σχολάρις, καὶ παρέλαβε τὸν κύρ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἦλθε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε μηνὶ Μαΐου γ', ἡμέρα β', ἔτους ,ζωνβ'. Ἐστέφθη δὲ μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κα'. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καταβιβάσας ἐπεριώρισεν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ Ἁγίου Σάββα.

p. 16, dated December 1349.

... καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ δεύτερος υἱὸς κύρ Βασιλείου κομνηνοῦ, ὁ κύρ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπονομασθεὶς κατὰ τὸν πάππον κύρ Ἀλέξιος, σὺν τῇ δεσποίνῃ καὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ κυρὰ Εἰρήνῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ κομνηνῇ, καὶ ἐστέφθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Εὐγενίου μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίου εἰς τὰς κα' κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ἑορτήν. Τὸν κύρ Μιχαὴλ, περιορίσας ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Σάββα ἀπέκειρε κατὰ μόνον α' καὶ μετὰ χρόνον α', ἀπεστάλθη εἰς τὴν Πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ κύρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Σαμφών, ὅτε γέγονε καὶ ἡ συμπενοθερεία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

See also J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaisertums von Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, 196 and 191.

The Monastery of St. Sabas seems to have served the same useful purpose for the Grand Comnenes as the Prince Islands and certain monasteries on the coast of Bithynia and the shore of the Bosphorus in Asia Minor did for the Byzantine emperors, i. e., dangerous pretenders to the throne were deported to these places. The two passages in the chronicle of Michael Panaretos give no clue as to the painting in the Chapels of St. Sabas and it is uncertain whether they refer to the western or the eastern part, but they do show that the chapels were very much in use around 1340—50. As the east chapel is dated by the inscription (q. v.), it would seem that the above material should rather be considered as referring to the west chapels.

TREBIZOND

ST. SABAS - UPPER WEST CHAPEL

SITUATION: From the back of the parecclesion of the lower chapel a shaft like a spiral staircase leads into the small upper chapel. LXVIII

LITERATURE: Cf. No. LXVII.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Millet-Rice pl. 38—41.

ARCHITECTURE: A practically square chapel with a flat roof and a flat apse.

DECORATION: In the apse there is a mixture of the Prophetic Vision (four Beings) and a Deesis, Church Fathers with Christ in the middle. On the south wall, going from the east, we have Christ and John the Baptist, with other Saints extending away over the west wall. On the roof there is a Pantocrator bust in a mandorla.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The upper chapel is in a rather better state of preservation. The paintings are dry; there is no moss on them at all. A good deal of damage has indeed been done — inscriptions by visitors, scratching out of eyes, etc., as well as chipping off layer I in preparation for applying layer II — but many details are still clearly visible nevertheless.

TECHNIQUE: The first coat of paint, which has now become visible again almost everywhere (the paint layer above it was almost entirely removed by D. T. Rice), appears to have been restored in some places. On the south wall the original green of the ground has been painted over with blue. The latter looks black here and this black effect may perhaps be due to the surface of the blue pigment changing colour. Careful scraping of the black surface layer reveals blue colouring underneath. This blue-black layer, which is washproof, is superimposed on the green ground of layer I. After the chipping off process another painting ground was applied and — judging by the remains that have survived, especially on the roof — the composition of layer I was repeated here.

The painter of layer I shows even greater diversification of technique than the painter in the lower chapel. With the help of a greeny blue proplasmos, which has been retained in a few shadow areas, and the white high-lighting superimposed on it for the purpose of moulding it and bringing out a plastic effect, his flesh tones have been built up with glykasmos in the form of delicate transparent washes. Eye sockets, chin and nose shadows have been deepened with brownish red ochre and gradations have been created in a red flesh tone (bridge of nose, lips, etc.). A very few black lines and dabs of white high-lighting finish off this brilliant painting.

The painting of the draperies starts with the medium local tone and goes on to darker tones, then black drawing, and passes also, in the other direction, from white transparent washes to hard white lines. A striking feature here is the attempt made everywhere to produce soft, flowing gradations. Sharp contrasts are not tolerated anywhere, either in the juxtaposition of colours or the pattern of light and shade within the colours.

TREBIZOND

ST. SABAS - EAST CHAPEL

LXIX SITUATION: At the foot of Boztepe there is a small spring. To the left of this we clamber up a short, but difficult path and so reach the stairway leading to the cave. The openings can be seen from down below.

LITERATURE: Millet-Rice, 66—76 and 121—126.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Millet-Rice pl. 24—30.

ARCHITECTURE: A transverse rectangular chamber of irregular proportions with a very flat transverse barrel vault. Apse opposite the entrance on the long east side. Over to the north an irregularly shaped parecclesion with an apse.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The paintings can be more or less written off as a total loss. What damp and moss have not ruined, especially in the southern part of the chapel at the back, has become a target for louts. The Nativity scene, which was still tolerably well preserved in 1960, has been almost completely knocked off. The pathetic fragments could be seen lying on the floor in 1965. The other scenes in the western part of the flat barrel vault have not fared very much better. The only one more or less in the same condition as in 1960 was the Raising of Lazarus. For this reason the old Leica photographs of 1960 have mainly been used in the plates.

TECHNIQUE: The excellent painting technique cannot be readily appreciated from the photographs. A first plaster, mixed with straw and just a little sand and about 9 to 12 mm thick, was applied to the roughly dressed rock. The second plaster layer, the opsis, is between 1 and 4 mm thick and also contains a little sand, but no chopped straw — some tow perhaps.

The flesh is built up throughout in ochre tones over a green undercoat which often shines through. In very delicate transitions, using, first of all, a transparent wash, then hatching, the painter passes from red ochre drawing to light ochre tones. In these gradations the white starts out as a transparent wash and finishes up as effective lines and dabs which are often sharp and pointed. The drawing is given elasticity by the use of sweeping strokes in red.

In the draperies the transitions are not so soft and flowing as on the flesh. On the local colour large and delicate masses of transparent white are first applied and these decide the nature of the internal drawing. This is usually followed by a white transparent wash giving a denser effect and on it are put pure white high-lights, elegantly drawn. With slightly deepened shadow lines in the local tone a movement is made once again towards darker tones. Here the stratified structure of the painting is clearer in the draperies than on the flesh, where the individual layers tend to overlap more and melt into one another.

In the Christ on the vaulting of the parecclesion another master was at work. This is evident not so much from the structure of the painting, which is so like that of the main painter that the two might easily be confused with each other, but, above all, from the colouring and the drawing. The main master worked in heavy, rich tones, whereas the painter of the parecclesion had a much brighter palette, with the ochre tones only going as far as brown ochre, if as far, and he showed a preference for cool, shallow and almost transparent tones. In the flesh the red tones so characteristic of the main painter are missing. Pure white lights are inconceivable. The same

applies to the draperies, where, even when the maximum of white is used, the local colour still shines through, so that the high-lights are worked into it. In the drawing of the lights the sharp points and spear shapes so commonly found in the work of the main painter are completely absent. We find this softness of colouring in the drawing too.

It is not easy to separate the paint layers exactly. On the east wall between the two apses there is a second layer of plaster, also painted, over the layer belonging to the main chapel. Here a Saint was probably depicted and his colouring (green) is in keeping with the colouring of the Christ on the roof. We might feel tempted to conclude that the Christ in the parecclesion appeared after the paintings in the main chapel, but this idea is not entirely convincing, as there is no connection as far as the plaster is concerned and there is no other painting under the Christ in the parecclesion. The east wall between the two apses with its two painted layers would be the link. The old painting here would have been done over again when the parecclesion was painted.

INSCRIPTION: G. Millet's reading of the dedicatory inscription (Illustration 35.2, Millet-Rice) that had already been destroyed by the time of D. T. Rice's investigations ran as follows:

TO ΣΤΕΡΕΟΜΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΗ ΣΙ ΠΕΠΗΘΟΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΡΕΥΣΟΝ ΚΕ
ΤΗΝ ΕΚΑΨΗΑ [Ν ΗΝ ΕΚΤΗΣΩ ΤΩ Τ] ΙΜΙΟ ΣΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΗ. ΔΕΗΣΙΣ
ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΙΒΑ Τ [ΟΥ ΙΙ] ΟΥΤΖΑΡ [Η] ΣΥΝΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ
ΚΝΩ [Ν ΑΥ] ΤΟΥ... [ΜΗΝΙ] ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ ΗC ΙΓ' ΕΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΙΘ'

Parascevas Putzares and his wife and children appear to have been the donors. The date shown is 13th March in the cosmic year 6919, i. e., 1411.

LATMOS

THE PANTOCRATOR CAVE

SITUATION: Viewed from the most easterly point on the lake, it is the second last inlet before the wall. Shortly after the wooden bridge over the stream we go slightly to the right and through a field gate and then follow the small footpath into the ravine and up past beehives. On reaching stonework on a platform, we turn left. The cave, which is a little farther down, opens out towards the valley. **LXX**

LITERATURE: T. Wiegand, *Milet III*, 1 *Der Latmos*, Berlin 1913, 89—91 and 191—202 (O. Wulff).

ILLUSTRATIONS: *Ibid.* 90 *Illust.* 114, 197 *Illust.* 122 and Plate I.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The wall parts with the Saints and the Maria lactans in the middle have been damaged to a great extent, especially the faces. The condition of the painting improves as you go up. There are usually only a few signs of stones having been thrown at the faces here. It

would even appear that an attempt has been made to cover up parts of the painting with a little limewash. The central figure of the enthroned Christ in the mandorla has, however, survived in excellent condition, although in parts we can just see it shining through the bare coat of limewash.

TECHNIQUE: The first plaster layer was of pure lime and straw and the second layer (opsis) was a lime layer about 2 mm thick and containing some sand. The opsis was, of course, smoothed over. The plaster has become as hard as a rock.

The colour scale is confined to ochre tones, ranging from orange yellow to red and so to purple and tints toned down with black. The painting method is not really like painting at all, but rather in the manner of a drawing or a grisaille picture. Internal detail is added to bright robes (Angel) in the form of large and rounded oval strokes of ochre and white, following, on the whole, the contours of the part of the body concerned. Shadows, occurring nearly always along folds, are shown by hatching. In the case of dark robes (Christ) the painter starts from a middle tone and puts in the folds in a darker tone. White lights are not used here, so abrupt contrasts are avoided. The flesh too is sketched rather than painted. Over a glykasmos of bright yellow ochre there is drawing in a reddish brown colour. Intermediate tones to represent shadow are rare.

INSCRIPTION: To the left of the series of Saints (cf. Wiegand 91) there is a barely legible inscription naming a certain *ὑποδιάκων Γεώργιος* as the donor of the painting.

LATMOS

CAVE NEAR THE YEDILER MONASTERY

LXXI SITUATION: The Yediler Monastery, which is easily seen from the shore of the lake, is best reached by going over the ridge above the village of Bucak. We follow the footpath along the water conduit, then go round the ravine on the left up above and easy paths will take us to the monastery. The cave itself is situated about 150 m to the north-east of the great tower on the corner of the castle, only a few metres to the right of the footpath leading northwards from the Yediler Monastery.

LITERATURE: T. Wiegand, *Milet III*, 1 Der Latmos, 95 f. and 222—227 (O. Wulff).

ILLUSTRATIONS: Ibid. 222 Illust. 127 and Plates VIII—IX.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: The paintings on the soffit of an overhanging rock are in a very good state of preservation in spite of severe exposure to the elements. But nearly all the faces and a great part of the composition have been badly spoiled by stone-throwing, etc.

TECHNIQUE: The painting is on a smoothed plaster of lime and straw without any sand.

There is great diversification within the individual draperies. Very bright robes (e. g., the Angels in the Baptism) have been set out in white. Shadows and drawing have been put on in green and occasionally in green blended with ochre. So there is a progression from light to shadow. In the

case of local colours in the middle range (light ochre, etc.) the painter has worked out from this in both directions, using shadows and drawing in dark ochre and also light, ranging from white transparent washes to sharp white lines of light (Apostles in the Transfiguration). The third possibility involves the use of a very dark local colour; white lights have been dispensed with and only drawing and shadows in a darker tone have been added. This is basically the same as the first method. The colour spectrum thus shows development only over the middle range and use of extremely light or dark tones has been curtailed, so that contrasts are kept well under control.

In the flesh tint we again have the possibility of making tones cooler (Christ on the Cross) or warmer. The starting point in each case is painting in the grisaille style in grey, white and ochre, which are blended into one another by means of hatching. In the second type a few brown tones are added as drawing and shadows. The painting is still built up in layers, but the gradations are made to run and slur so softly into one another that a perfect plastic effect is achieved. White highlights are no longer to be seen.

LATMOS

THE CHRIST CAVE

Although the exact location of the cave was indicated by Wiegand, I have not so far succeeded in finding it, in spite of a systematic search of the area lasting three days. But W. Radt found it in 1965.

LITERATURE: T. Wiegand, *Milet III*, 1 Der Latmos, 89 and 215—222 (O. Wulff).

ILLUSTRATIONS: Ibid. 88 Illust. 113 and Plates VI and VII; Merian 19 (1966), No. 12, 47.

LXXII

LATMOS

THE PAUL CAVE NEAR THE STYLOS MONASTERY

I have not yet succeeded in visiting the Paul Cave near the top of Latmos. According to members of the Milet excavation team (the Hommels), who succeeded in getting up there, it is still in the same state as it used to be.

LITERATURE: T. Wiegand, *Milet III*, 1 Der Latmos 94 f. and 202—215 (O. Wulff).

ILLUSTRATIONS: Ibid. 204 Illust. 123, 210 Illust. 125, 213 Illust. 126 and Plates II—V; Merian 19 (1966) No. 12, 46.

LXXIII

NICAEA

HAGIA SOPHIA

LXXIV

There are remains of painting on the dome of the right-hand parecclesion, the best preserved part being an Angel's head.

LITERATURE: M. Alpatoff, *Eine Reise nach Konstantinopel, Nicaea und Trapezunt II*, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft (1928) 68; O. Demus, *Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei*, Berichte zum XI. Intern. Byzantinisten-Kongreß, Munich, 1958, 153 (Congress report).

EPHESUS

COEMETERIUM OF THE SEVEN SLEEPERS

LXXV

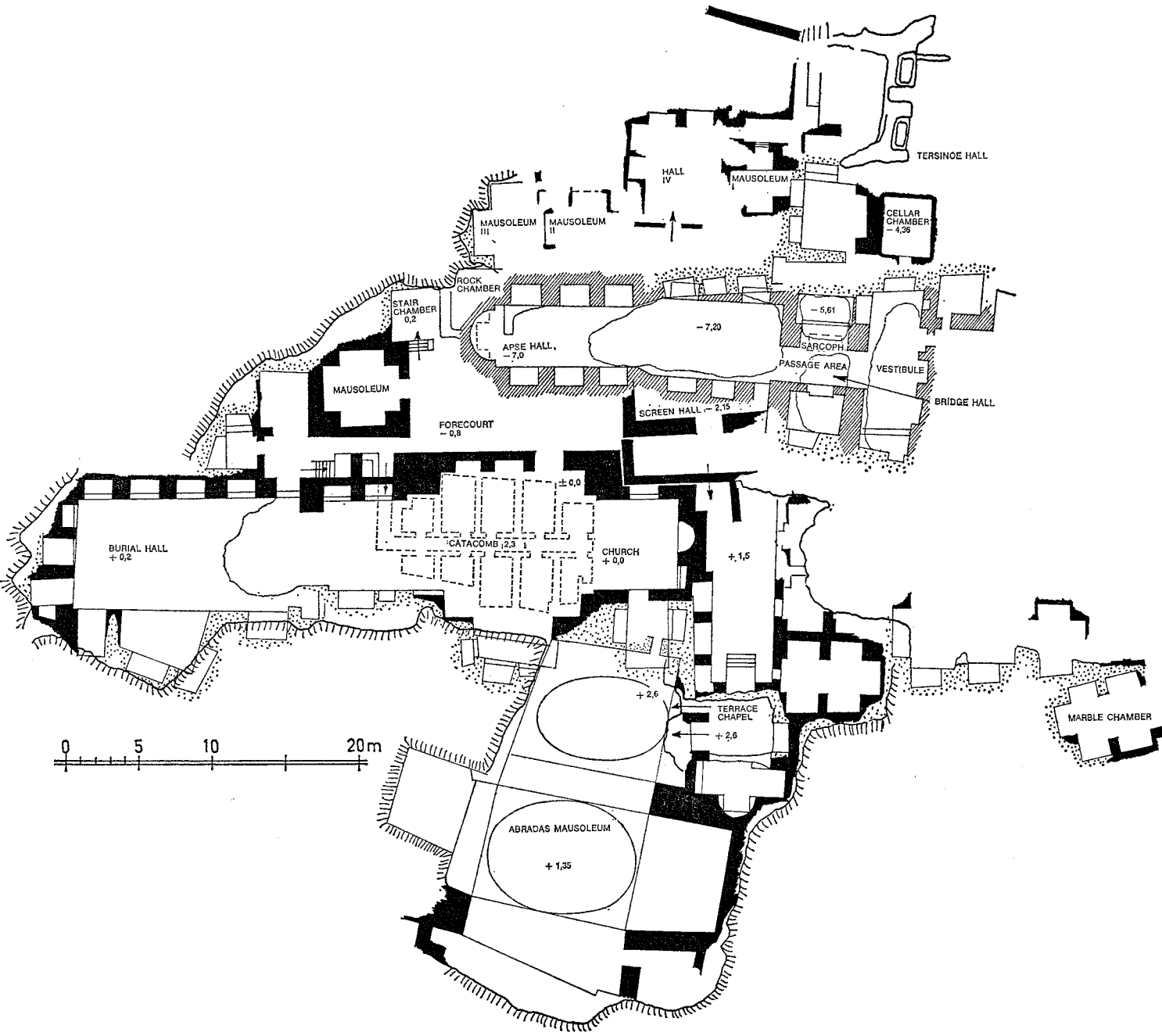
The barrel vault of the lower apsidal chamber has been painted. Meagre remains are also to be found in an arcosolium in the upper burial hall.

LITERATURE: *Forschungen in Ephesos IV. 2*, Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer, Baden nr. Vienna, 1937. See in particular the section by H. Gerstinger, *Die Malereien und Mosaiken der Sieben-schläferkatakombe*, 212—222.

ILLUSTRATIONS: *Op. cit.* Illust. 60 and 126 ff.

STATE OF PRESERVATION: On the barrel vault of the apsidal chamber remains of plaster have survived, showing baskets of flowers, garlands and scattered flowers, interspersed with birds. The arcosolium at the back of the burial hall reveals a blue ground framed by a red, white and red border. On the blue ground there is an epitaph that can no longer be deciphered. Figures of Saints to the right and left of the entrance into the catacomb, situated to the left of the burial hall, have now faded almost completely. Only the crux gemmata on the vault of the adjoining burial passage is still in a good state of preservation.

Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers



ADDENDA

GOREME CHAPEL 15a

- LXXVI** SITUATION: Beside Chapel 15 and wrongly placed by Jerphanion near the Elmalı Kilise (Chapel 19).
LITERATURE: Je I. 1, 145 f.; N. Thierry, *Quelques églises inédites en Cappadoce*, Journal des Savants 1965, 625—627.
ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry, op. cit. Illust. 1, p. 626.
ARCHITECTURE: Square longitudinal chamber with one aisle, also an apse and two lateral niches.
DECORATION: In the apse there is a Prophetic Vision with Michael and Gabriel, also Church Fathers (Germanus and Blaise); in the northern niche Mary with two Angels. In the nave are the remains of a cycle: on the southern half of the barrel vault an Annunciation and Visitation in the top tier and a Betrayal by Judas in the bottom tier. On the northern half of the vault there is a Presentation in the Temple up above and a Way of the Cross and a Crucifixion down below, also Saints on the walls.
STATE OF PRESERVATION: The apse paintings and the Saints on the walls have been badly damaged, but the Gospel scenes can easily be identified.
DATE: N. Thierry quite rightly sees similarities to the Paris Gregory (Par. gr. 510), the Vatican Cosmas (Vat. gr. 699) and the Venice Job (Marc. gr. 538) and has dated the paintings to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. They appear to have been created shortly after those in the Kılıçlar Kilise (Chapel 29 in Göreme) and should therefore be dated to the period around or shortly after 900.

MAÇAN-AVCILAR

YUSUF KOÇ KİLİSE

- LXXVII** SITUATION: Near Maçan.
LITERATURE: N. Thierry, *Quelques églises inédites en Cappadoce*, Journal des Savants 1965, 630—633.
ILLUSTRATIONS: Thierry, op. cit. Illusts. 4—5, pp. 631 and 632.
ARCHITECTURE: A cross-domed church with a double apse (centre and south) and a niche in the east wall of the north bay. Domes over the central square and the south cross arm.
STATE OF PRESERVATION: The column supports are broken off. The painting appears to be in a good state of preservation.

DECORATION: In the double apse a Madonna with Child and a Deesis. In the tympana above Christ, Peter and Paul are shown. In the vault area of the naos are Apostles, the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace and the Saints Sergius, Bacchus, Florus, Laurus, Tryphon, Cyricus and Christopher. On each of the domes we see two Archangels and in the squinches Seraphim. On the walls there are more Saints (Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil in the apses and others in the naos, including Procopius, Demetrius, George, Theodore, Constantine and Helena). The only scene depicted in the church is an Annunciation on the north wall of the north cross arm.

DATE: Nicole Thierry compares the choice of Saints, the ornamentation and the Archangels with the cross-domed churches in Göreme (Chapels 19, 22 and 23) and the frescoes in the crypt of Osios Lukas, thus taking it up to the end of the 11th century. The close-up photograph of the Evangelist Luke (Thierry, op. cit., Illust. 5) reveals that it is the work of the same artist who painted the medallions with Prophets and Saints on the intersection arches at Tağar. This accounts for the unusual iconography. It could be said that this "Saint painter" was not competent to do anything else and chose familiar pictures of the Saints in which he had had plenty of practice. The dating to the closing years of the 11th century is correct. I cannot see any close connection with the style of the cross-domed churches in Göreme.

AYVALI

- SITUATION: According to Nicole Thierry about 15 km to the south-east of Ürgüp, where there is no Ayvalı köy. The only Ayvalı I know of lies 10 km to the south-south-west of Ürgüp and is probably identical with this one. **LXXVIII**
ARCHITECTURE: A single-aisled naos with an apse.
DECORATION: In the apse is a mixture of a Prophetic Vision (wheels of fire, the Beings, Archangels) and a Deesis. Over the apse there is an Annunciation. A procession of Apostles comes high up on the apse wall and Church Fathers are shown down below (including Athenogenes, Ignatius and Epiphanius), also the Deacons Stephen and Romanus with two donors (Eustratius and John).
DATE: Nicole Thierry compares the paintings with those of Eski Gümüş and some Romanesque frescoes in the west and has dated them to the end of the 12th or to the 13th century. Connections with Armenian painting have been found too.

BYZANTINE WALL PAINTING TECHNIQUES

SOURCES

In the west there are manuscripts dating far back into the Middle Ages²⁷¹, but in the Greek and Byzantine area information about painting techniques is only to be found in manuscripts from a very late period. The most famous collection of this kind, which is combined with a general survey of the whole subject of iconography, is known as the "Painters' Book of Mount Athos". This was not brought to the notice of wider circles until the second half of the last century. The first Greek edition came out in Athens in 1853 and in 1885 there was a second one, for which A. Konstantinides was responsible. In the meantime A. Didron had brought out a French edition in Paris in 1845 and this was followed ten years later by the German edition of Godehard Schäfer in Trier. Up till that time the known text had been expanded and ruined by the notorious manuscript forger Konstantin Simonides, but in 1909 a fairly critical and reliable version of the Greek text was produced by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus²⁷². Since then little attention has been given to the text, but there was a series of papers by A. Grecu dealing with painting handbooks of this kind²⁷³.

The age of the Painters' Guide has long been argued about. According to Krumbacher²⁷⁴, it is supposed to have been written in 1468 by Dionysius of Furna. Heinrich Brockhaus actually saw three manuscripts, two at Karyai belonging to 1630 and 1787, and a third at Xenophontos, going back to 1838. For iconographical reasons he thought that the handbook came after 1300 and from the language he ascribed it to the period between 1500 and 1630, the year from which the first manuscript was supposed to date²⁷⁵. Konstantin Simonides put his own copies much earlier, boldly marking them with the dates 1458 and — together with an instruction about photography — 518²⁷⁶. In the introduction to his 1909 edition Papadopoulos-Kerameus gave a detailed study and description of the "copying" methods used by Simonides. Subsequently the Simonides version was supposed to have found its way into the Munich State Library, thanks to G. Schäfer, but it is not there to-day. The handbook was probably compiled in its present form between 1701 and 1733²⁷⁷.

What people have always suspected to be the case has, however, been confirmed. The handbook in its present form has definitely been compiled from older texts and prototypes, some of them going back in turn to even older texts and traditions. Five possible models for the Dionysius collection were printed by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in the appendix to his 1909 edition. They come from Jerusalem manuscripts written down by Porphyrios Uspenski in 1850. Uspenski's copy then found its way into the Leningrad Library as Codex 255. The first three (Parartema 1—3 in Papadopoulos-Kerameus) are derived from 18th century manuscripts in the possession of a Jerusalem painter, but these have since been lost. Two others (Parartema 4—5) are copies of the Hagiou Taphu Codex 214, written by a priest called Daniel in 1674²⁷⁸. The connection between these Jerusalem prototypes and the Athos Guide can be ignored here.

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ

ΤΗΣ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΙΧΟΥ

ἦτοι περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ ἱστορίῃς εἰς τὸν τοῖχον. καὶ πρῶτον περὶ ἀπὸ τί καὶ πῶς νὰ κατασκευάζῃς τὰ κονδύλια.

§ 1. Τὰ μὲν ἀνοικτάρια γίνονται ἀπὸ τὴν χαίτην, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τὰς τρίχας τοῦ ὄνου, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἀστράγαλον τοῦ βοῦς καὶ ἀπὸ τὰς τρίχας τῶν αἰγῶν τὰς ἴσας, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν σιαγόνα τοῦ μουλαρίου. Ποιήσεις δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως. Πέρασον τὰς τρίχας εἰς πτερὸν ἀετοῦ καὶ ποιῇς ἀνοικτάρια ὁμοίως καὶ σαρκιστάρια καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα θέλεις· τὰ δὲ προπλαστάρια ποιήσον ἀπὸ τὰς τρίχας τῶν χοίρων, δένοντάς τα μόνον εἰς ξύλον χωρὶς πτερὸν, κήρωσε δὲ καὶ τὸ μπρισίμι ὅπου θέλεις νὰ τὰ δέσῃς. Οὕτω λοιπὸν γίνονται τὰ κονδύλια τῆς τοῦ τοίχου ἱστορίας.

Περὶ κατασκευῆς καὶ λαγαρισμοῦ ἀσβέστου.

§ 2. Ὅταν θέλῃς, ὦ μαθητά, νὰ ἱστορίῃς τοῖχον, διάλεξον ἀσβεστον καλὸν ὅπου νὰ εἶναι παχὺς ὥσάν ὀξύγι καὶ νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ πέτρες ἄκαυστες μέσα· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι ἀχαμνὸς καὶ ἔχει πέτρες μέσα ἄκαυστες, ποιήσον οὕτω· πρῶτον κατασκεύασον μίαν καροῦταν ξύλινην τετράγωνην, καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν ταύτης ποιήσον λάκκον μέγαν ὅσον θέλεις, καὶ παίρνοντας τὸν ἀσβεστον βάνε τον μέσα εἰς τὴν καροῦταν, καὶ γύνοντας νερον μέσα ὅπου νὰ πλεονάζῃ τοῦ ἀσβέστου, ἀνακάτωνέ τον ἐπιμελῶς μὲ τζάπαν, ἕως οὗ νὰ ἀναλύσῃ ὅλος, νὰ μείνουν μόνον αἱ πέτραι, καὶ βάνοντας εἰς τὸ στόμα τῆς καρούτας μίαν καλάθην, ἀνοιξὸν τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς νὰ τρέχῃ τὸ γάλα εἰς τὴν καλάθην καὶ νὰ ἀπομένουν καὶ πέτραι, καὶ χεόμενον τὸ γάλα μέσα εἰς τὸν λάκκον ἄφες το νὰ πῆξῃ καλῶς, ἕως οὗ νὰ ἐβγάῃς μὲ τὸ πτυάρι.

The Jerusalem texts, even those of the 18th century, at least provide us with a linguistically better and neater version. We are therefore taking them as our basis in this study on the techniques of Byzantine wall painting to which the second source document of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Parartema 2, is devoted.

A GUIDE TO WALL PAINTING or how to paint on a wall

First of all, how to prepare brushes.

1. Sketching brushes are made from an ass's mane, that is, from the hairs in it, or from an ox's fetlock or hairs from the same (parts) of goats and from a mule's jaw. Do it in the following way: stick the hairs into the end of an eagle's feather and then you will have sketching brushes, also brushes for painting flesh and any others you desire. But make the brushes for the proplasmos out of pigs' bristles. You simply tie them to a (stick of) wood, not to a feather. You must wax the silk thread with which you tie them. That is how brushes for wall painting are made.

Preparing and cleaning the lime.

2. If you want to paint a wall, my pupil, choose good lime that is as fat as lard and does not contain any unburnt fragments. But, if it is lean and has unburnt fragments in it, do the following: prepare first of all a rectangular wooden box. Underneath it make as big a hole as you wish. Take the lime and put it in the box, add water so that the lime will dissolve and stir it round carefully with a mortar hook until it is completely broken up and only the fragments of stone remain. Hold a large basket up against the pouring opening in the box, open the outlet and pour the slaked lime into the hole. Let it set properly until you can take it off with a trowel.

Περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀσβέστου καὶ βάψεως.

§ 3. Ἐπαρε ἀπὸ τὸν λαγαρισμένον ἀσβεστον καὶ βάλε εἰς κοπάναν μεγάλην, καὶ εὐρίσκοντας ἄχυρα ψιλὰ ἤγουν μεσαῖα καὶ ὄχι τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀνακάτωσέ τα μὲ τσάπαν· καὶ εἰ μὲν εἶναι πολλὰ πηκτός, βάλε νερόν νὰ ἐλθῇ εἰς τὴν στάσιν του διὰ νὰ δουλεύεται, καὶ ἄφες το νὰ ἐργάζῃ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃς τὴν ὕψιν.

§ 4. Ἐπαρε τὸ καλλίτερον τοῦ χυμένου ἀσβέστου καὶ βάλε το εἰς μικροτέραν κοπάναν, καὶ εὐρίσκοντας στουπίια κοπανισμένα, ὅπου νὰ μὴν ἔχουν πολλὰ λινόφυλα, στρίψε τα καὶ δίπλωσέ τα νὰ γένουν ὡς χοντρὸν σχοινίον, καὶ κόπτοντάς τα ἐπάνω εἰς ξύλον λεπτά κομμάτια, ὅσον δύνασαι, στοίβασέ τα νὰ ἀνοίξουν καὶ νὰ πέσουν τὰ λινόφυλα, καὶ συνάξας αὐτὰ εἰς κόσκινον τίναξον ἐπάνω τῆς κοπάνας λεπτά καὶ ἀνακάτωνέ τα με τὸ πτυάριον καὶ μὲ τὴν τζάπαν, καὶ πάλιν ποιήσον ὡς τὸ πρῶτον πέντε καὶ ἕξ φορές, ἕως νὰ ψιχιάσῃ ὁ ἀσβεστος, διὰ νὰ μὴν σάζῃ εἰς τὸν τοῖχον. Εἰ θέλεις, κράτησον αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἓνα σου χέρι καὶ μὲ τὸ ἄλλον κράτωντας σκοῦπαν τίναξέ τα νὰ πίπτουν ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀσβέστου, καὶ ἄφες τον νὰ ἐργάσῃ ὡς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, καὶ οὕτω γίνεται ἡ ὕψις τοῦ τοῖχου.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ βάλλῃς εἰς τὸν τοῖχον νὰ ἱστορίσῃς καὶ πῶς νὰ σουβατίσῃς.

§ 5. Ὅταν θέλῃς, ὦ μαθητά, νὰ ἱστορίσῃς ἐκκλησίαν, κάμνει χρεῖα πρῶτον νὰ ἱστορίσῃς τὰ ὑψηλότερα μέρη, ἔπειτα (τά) κατώτερα διὰ τοῦτο ἐτοίμασον πρῶτον τὴν σκάλαν, εἴτα ἔπαρε νερόν εἰς ἀγγεῖον ἀπλωτόν, καὶ ρίχνοντας μὲ χουλάριον βρέχε τὸν τοῖχον, καὶ ἂν εἶναι ὁ τοῖχος κτισμένος μὲ χῶμα, ξύσον τὸ χῶμα μὲ τὸ μιστρί ὅσον δύνασαι καὶ πάλιν βρέξον αὐτὸν μὲ τὸ νερόν καὶ σουβάντισον. Εἰ δὲ εἶναι μὲ τοῦβλα, βρέξον αὐτὸν πέντε καὶ ἕξ φορές, καὶ βάλε καὶ ἀσβεστον χοντρὸν ἕως δύο δάκτυλα ἢ καὶ περισσότερον, διὰ νὰ βασιτάξῃ ὑγρότητα νὰ δουλεύῃ· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι μὲ πέτρες, βρέξον μόνον μίαν φορὰν ἢ καὶ δύο, καὶ βάλε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον ἀσβεστον, διότι ἡ πέτρα βαστᾷ ψύχραν πολλήν καὶ δὲν στεγνώνει. Καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα σουβάντιζε τὸ βράδυ καὶ τὸ ταχὺ βάλε τὴν ὕψιν διὰ νὰ βαστᾷ, τὸ δὲ καλοκαίρι καθὼς σοῦ δώσῃ χέρι, καὶ βάνοντας τὴν ὕψιν ἴσασέ την καλῶς μὲ τὸν μαλᾶν καὶ ἄφες την ὀλίγον νὰ ψιχιάσῃ καὶ μετέπειτα σχεδιάσον.

Preparing the lime and the first coat.

3. Take some of the purified lime and throw it into a large mortar tub. Look for fine straw, that is, medium straw and not chaff, and mix it (with the lime) with the mortar hook and if it is too stiff add water, so that it is in a state in which it can be worked. Let it stand for two or three days.

How to make the opsis, the second coat.

4. Take the better (part) of the soaked lime and put it in a smaller mortar trough. Look for beaten tow that does not have many woody flax fibres in it and twist and put it together until it becomes like a thick rope. Then cut it on a chopping block into small pieces, as (finely) as you can, and toss it so that it mixes together and the woody flax fibres fall out. Then put (the chopped tow) in a sieve and shake it gently over the mortar trough and stir it round with a trowel and a mortar hook. Do this again — five or six times — just as you did the first time, until the lime is soft and workable and will not burst (crack) on the wall.

If you wish, take the tow in one hand and a broom in the other. Shake it so that it falls on the lime. Let it stand like the other. This is how the wall opsis is made.

How you make the coat for wall painting and how you sketch.

5. If you wish to paint a church, my pupil, you must first paint the upper parts and then the lower ones. So erect the scaffolding first, then put water in a pot and sprinkle it with a scoop, moistening the wall. If the wall is built of clay, then scratch the clay off with a trowel as well as you can, moisten the wall once more with water and throw on the mortar. But, if it is of brick, wet it five or six times and put on the lime to a thickness of two fingers or more, so that it holds the moisture and you can work it. If the wall is of stone, then wet it only once or perhaps twice and put on less lime, as the stone will keep it very cool and (the lime) will not dry. In winter, plaster in the evening; the (next) morning put the opsis over it, so that it holds (the moisture?). In the fine season do it in the easiest

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ σχεδιάσῃς καὶ νὰ δουλεύῃς εἰς τὸν τοῖχον.

§ 6. Ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ σχεδιάσῃς εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, πρῶτον ἴσασσε τὸν τόπον καὶ μὲ διαβήτην ἤγουν πριέλι ξύλινον, βάνοντας εἰς τὸ ἓνα μέρος ἓνα μικρὸν κονδύλιον διὰ νὰ σηματούῃς τὰ μέτρα καὶ νὰ γυρίζῃς καὶ τὰ στεφάνια, καὶ παίρνοντας ὥχραν σχεδιάσῃς με τὸ κονδύλιον πρῶτον νερούλᾳ καὶ ὑστερον ἀνοιξὸν μὲ τὴν ἴδιαν ὥχραν, καὶ ἂν δὲν ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ σχέδιον καλᾶ, ἀνοιξὸν αὐτὸ πάλιν μὲ λευκὸν ὄξυ καὶ γύρισον καὶ τὸ στεφανιον καὶ στίλβωσον καλῶς τὸν κάμπον, καὶ εὐθὺς βάλε τὸ μαῦρον· εἴτα στίλβωσον τὸ φῶρεμα καὶ πρόπλᾳσον αὐτό· ὅμως βλέπε ἀπὸ μίαν ὥραν γληγορώτερα νὰ τελειώσῃς ὅσον ἐστίλβωσες, διότι ἐὰν πολὺ ἀργήσῃς κάμνει τοῖπα καὶ δὲν πίνει τὴν βαφὴν καὶ ὑστερον πίπτουν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀργήσῃς, στοχάσου ἐκεῖ ὅπου δὲν πίνει τὴν βαφὴν κτύπα το μὲ τὸ μιστρί, καὶ ὑστερον βάλε τὴν βαφὴν καὶ οὕτω δὲν πίπτει· ὁμοίως στίλβωσον καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ σημάδευσέ το (μὲ τὸ) μιστρί ἢ μὲ ψηφί ἢ μὲ κόκκαλον, ὅπου νὰ ἔχῃς ἐπὶ ταύτου ὡσὰν μαχαίρι· μετ' αὐτὸ χάραξον καὶ τὰ φορέματα, πρόπλᾳσον καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ (ἂν) ἀργήσῃς καὶ πιάσῃ (ἢ) τζίπα τους, ποιήσον ὡς ἐδηλώθη ἀνωτέρα.

Περὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ψιμύθιον τοῦ τοίχου.¹

§ 7. Ἐρευνῶντας νὰ εὔρῃς παλαιὰν ἀσβεστηρίαν ἕως πενήντα χρόνων, καὶ ἂν τύχῃ καὶ ἔμεινεν ὀλίγη ἀσβεστος ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἑκάυσαν, ἢ ὅποια βρέχεται ὅλον τὸν χειμῶνα, τὸ δὲ καλοκαίρι καίει τὴν ὁ ἥλιος· ἀπ' αὐτὴν λοιπὸν διάλεξον καὶ τρίψον καὶ γίνεταί ψιμύθιον καλὸν διὰ τὸν τοῖχον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν εὔρῃς ἀπ' αὐτὴν, ἔπαρε ἀπὸ παλαιὰ σουβαντίσματα, ὅπου νὰ εἶναι ἀπὸ παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν, καὶ ξύνοντας καλῶς τὰς βαφὰς τρίψον οὕτω ξηρὸν ὀλίγον εἰς μάρμαρον· εἴτα βάνοντας το εἰς μούσούρι γέμισον αὐτὸ νερὸν καὶ ἄφες αὐτὸ νὰ κατασταλάξῃ, καὶ στράγγισον αὐτὸ μία καὶ δύο φορές. ἕως οὗ νὰ ἔβγῃ μὲ τὸ νερὸν καὶ τὸ στουππί καὶ τὸ ἄχυρον ὅλον· εἴτα τρίψον αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ γίνεταί ψιμύθιον καλόν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν εὔρῃς οὔτε ἀπ' αὐτά, ποιήσον οὕ-

way. After you have put on the opsis, smooth it well with a trowel and let it dry a little. Then sketch on it.

How you sketch and work on a wall.

6. If you wish to sketch on a wall, first smooth the area and, after putting a small brush on one end of a pair of compasses, that is, wooden compasses, in order to mark out the measurements and also draw the nimbi, take ochre and sketch with the brush, first of all in dilution, and later begin with the ochre itself. If the sketch is not satisfactory, start it again with light caput mortuum and also draw the nimbus with the compasses, polish the area and put the black on at once. Then smooth the garment and put the proplasmos on it. But see that you finish the part you have smoothed in less than an hour, because, if you delay very long, a skin will form and the colours will not be bound and will fall off later. If you work slowly, remember that the mortar will not absorb the colouring. Beat it (roughen it) with a trowel and put on the colour afterwards. Then it will not peel off. Also smooth the face in the same way and mark it with a trowel, a small stone or a bone, held (over it) like a dagger. Also draw the lines of the draperies with this. Put the proplasmos over the face as well. If you work slowly and the skin forms, do what has been said above.

Preparing white for wall painting.

7. Look for an old lime-kiln that has not been working for up to five years. If you are fortunate enough to find that a little burnt lime has remained and has become wet in the course of the winter, but was burnt in summer by the sun, pick out some of it and rub it and it will make a good white for the wall. But, if you do not find any, then take some old plaster from an old wall painting, scratch the colours well off and rub it a little on a marble slab in a dry state. Then put it in a vessel, fill this up with water and let it settle and pour off the water on top two or three times, until the tow and

τως· ἔπαρε ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν ἄσβεστον ὅπου δουλεύεις καὶ βάλε τὴν νὰ ξηρανθῇ εἰς τὸν ἥλιον· εἶτα καῦσον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰς φοῦρνον ἢ εἰς φωτίαν, καὶ τρίβοντας αὐτὴν δούλευε, ὅμως δοκίμαζε τὴν εἰς τὴν γλῶσσάν σου· καὶ εἰ μὲν πικρίζουν ἢ στυφίζουσιν ὥσάν τὸν ἄλλον ἄσβεστον ὅπου σουβαντίζεις, ἄφες τα, ὅτι τζιπώνουν καὶ δὲν δουλεύονται· εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν πικρίζουν, ἀλλ' εἶναι ὥσόν χῶμα, δούλευέ τα ἀδιστάκτως.

Περὶ ὅπου θέλεις νὰ σαρκώνης.

§ 8 Ἐπαρε πλάκα πρασίνι δράμια -- καὶ ὤχραν βαθεῖαν δράμια -- καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ψιμύθιον τοῦ τοίχου δράμια -- καὶ τρίψον αὐτὰ καλῶς καὶ πρόπλαθε ὅπου θέλεις νὰ σαρκώσης.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ δουλεύης καὶ περὶ ἀνοίγματος ὀμματοφρυδίων καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων μελῶν σαρκώνονται.

§ 9. Ἐπαρε οὐμβραν ἢ μαῦρον καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μαῦρο δέξιν καὶ ἀνακάτωσέ τα καὶ ἄνοιγε ὀμμάτια, μύτας, χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις βάλε μόνον οὐμβραν ἢ μαῦρον, εἰς δὲ τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν βάλε μαῦρον ψιλόν, ὅπου τὸ μαζώνουν ἀπὸ τὸν καπνόν¹ τοῦ θηδίου, διότι ἂν βάλης ἀπ' αὐτὸ ὅπου δουλεύεις εἰς τοὺς κάμπους καὶ εἰς τὰ φορέματα, ἐβγαίνει.

Περὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι σάρκα τοῦ τοίχου.

§ 10. Βάλε ψιμύθιον τοῦ τοίχου δράμια -- καὶ ὤχραν θασιτικὴν δράμια --, καὶ βέλον δράμια -- εἰς μάρμαρον καὶ τρίψον αὐτὰ ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ οὕτω γίνεται σάρκα καλὴ.

the straw come out of it completely with the water. Then rub it well and it will make a good white for the wall. But, if you do not find any of this either, make it in the following way: take out some of the lime that you are working with and lay it in the sun to dry. Then burn it thoroughly in an oven or in a flame and use it after rubbing. But test it on your tongue. If it is bitter and harsh like the other lime that you are putting on, then leave it, because it is forming a skin and is not suitable. But, if it is not bitter, but like earth, then there is nothing to prevent you from using it.

How flesh is painted.

8. Take . . . dramia of green earth, . . . dramia of dark ochre, . . . dramia of wall white, rub well and put on the proplasma where you wish to paint flesh.

How the work is done, how eyelids are put on and other dark parts are painted in the flesh.

9. Take umber or black and an equal amount of deep black and dark caput mortuum, mix it and put on eyes, nose, hands and feet. For the strong parts only apply umber or black and for the eyelids apply a fine black obtained from pine torch smoke, as, if you take the black that is used for areas and draperies, it will fade (fall off).

How flesh is painted on a wall.

10. Take . . . dramia wall white, . . . dramia Thasos ochre and . . . dramia bole. Rub carefully on a marble slab and beautiful flesh will be obtained.

Περὶ τοῦ γλυκασμοῦ.

§ 11. Ἐπαρε ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν σάρκα καὶ προπλάσμων καὶ ἀνακατώνοντάς τα σάρκωνε ὡς καὶ εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα· εἰ δὲ καὶ θέλεις ὀγλήγορα, πρῶτον σάρκωσε τὰ θεμέλια μὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰ λεπτόματα λέπτυνε μὲ γλυκασμὸν καὶ μὲ σάρκα, καὶ οὕτω γίνετα· ὀγλήγορα.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ βάνῃς τὸ κοκκινάδι.

§ 12. Εἰς μὲν τοὺς νέους ἀνακάτυνε βόλον καὶ σάρκα καὶ βάλε κοκκινάδι καὶ κάμνε καὶ τὰ χεῖλη καὶ στόματα, εἰς δὲ τοὺς γέροντας βάλε πρῶτον ὥχραν λεπτὴν καὶ ὕστερον βόλον, καὶ οὕτω γίνονται κατὰ τὸ πρέπον· τὰ δὲ μαλλία καὶ γένεια ποιεῖ ὡς προερμηνεύθη εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας.

Περὶ τοῦ τοίχου καὶ νὰ μὴν μαυρίζῃ.

§ 13. Εἰ εἶναι ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ ὁ τοίχος καὶ κτυπᾷ τον ὁ ἀέρας, μὴ βάλῃς ὀλοτελῶς κιννάβαρι, διότι μαυρίζει, ἀλλὰ βάλε λευκὸν ὀξύ· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι ἔσωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, βάλε ψιμύθιον τοῦ τοίχου καὶ ὥχραν Πολίτικην ἀπὸ ὀλίγα, καὶ οὕτω δουλεύοντας δὲν μαυρίζει.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ λαματίζῃς τὸ λαζούρι εἰς τὸν τοῖχον.

§ 14. Βάλε τὸ λαζούρι εἰς τὴν πλάκαν, βάλε δὲ καὶ ὀλίγον λουλάκι ἀπὸ τὸ λεγόμενον χίντι, διότι τὸ λαζούρι μοχλιάζει εἰς τὸν τοῖχον· καὶ ὅσον ἔβαλες λουλάκι, βάλε καὶ ἄλλο τόσον ψιμύθιον τοῦ τοίχου καὶ τρίψον αὐτὰ καλῶς καὶ σὺναξον αὐτὰ εἰς καυκίον· καὶ πρῶτον πρόπλαθε βαθὺ λινὸν καὶ ἄνοιγέ το μὲ μαῦρον καὶ λαμάτιζε μὲ τὸ λαζούρι· λαματίζεται καὶ εἰς τὴν μαυροσόμπραν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὀξύ μαῦρο.

Εἰς τὸν τοῖχον ποῖται δουλεύονται.

§ 15. Τὸ ψιμύθιον τῆς εἰκόνης καὶ τὸ τζιγκιάρι καὶ τὸ λαζούρι καὶ ἡ λάκκα καὶ τὸ ἀρσενίχι, τοῦτα ὅλα δὲν τὰ δουλεύουν εἰς τὸν τοῖχον. Τὴν πλάκα, τὸ πρασίνι, πρόσχε

The glykasmos.

11. Take some of this flesh colour and proplasmos, mix it and paint the flesh as if on an easel picture. If you wish to paint more quickly, first paint the ground with flesh colour and paint the details more finely with glykasmos and flesh colour and it will be finished more rapidly.

How red is put on.

12. For young persons mix bole and flesh colour and paint the red, also the lips and mouth. For old men first put on light ochre and later bole and it will turn out as it should. Make hair and beards in the manner described for easel pictures.

The wall and how to see that it does not turn black.

13. If the wall is outside the church and the open air can reach it, do not use cinnabar, as it will turn black, but take light caput mortuum. If (the wall) is inside the church, then take wall white and a little Constantinople ochre. If you work in this way, the fresco will not turn black.

How lights are put on wall painting in blue.

14. Take azurite on your palette, also a little indigo of the kind which comes from India, because azurite becomes mouldy in a fresco. Take also as much wall white as indigo, rub well and put them all together in a receptacle. For a dark garment put on the proplasmos first, then apply black and mark the lights in blue. The lights can also be put on umber-black and deep black.

The colours that can be used on a wall.

15. White lead, copper green, azurite, madder lake and orpiment are all unusable in a fresco. Take care that you never use pure

νά μὴν προπλάσῃς ἀγνὸν πῶποτε· μόνον κατασκευάζε λευκὸν λάμα καὶ πρῶτον πρό-
πλαθε λινὸν καὶ ὑστερον ἐπάνω τοῦ λινοῦ πρόπλαθε τὸ λάμα καὶ ἀνοιγε καὶ ἰσχύωνέ
το μὲ τὸ ἴδιον πρασίνι, καὶ λαμάτιζε το μόνον μὲ ἓνα λάμα καὶ εὐθὺς τὴν ψιμύθιαν·
λαμάτιζε πρὸτὸ ἀγνὸν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ κολόρι καὶ εἰς ἄλλες βαφές, καθὼς τὸ ἔχει καὶ ὁ
Φράγκος· ὁμοίως καὶ τὲς ἄλλες βαφές λευκάς πρόπλαθέ τις.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ κάμῃς στεφάνια σηκωτὰ εἰς τὸν τοῖχον.

§ 16. Ἐφοῦ σχεδιάσῃς τὸν ἅγιον, γύρισον τὸ στεφάνιον αὐτοῦ μὲ διαβήτην· εἴτα
παίρνοντας ὄψιν βάλε καὶ σήκωσε τὸ στεφάνιον· μόνον πρόσεχε νὰ μὴν πλακώσῃ τὰ
μαλλία· εἴτα κόλλησον χρυσαφοχάρτια ἐπάνω εἰς ὅσον ἐσήκωσες, διὰ νὰ μὴν φαίνεται
ὁ ἀσβέστης ὁλότελα, καὶ γύρισον δεύτερον μὲ τὸν διαβήτην ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ χαρτῖα νὰ ση-
μαδεύσῃς τὸ στεφάνιον, καὶ τότε παίρνοντας τὸ ξύλον ὅπου ἔχεις σκαλισμένον· βάλε μὲ
προσοχὴν τὸ γύρισμα τοῦ διαβήτου· καὶ βάνοντας τὸ πάτωμα χτύπα το μὲ τὸ σκεπάρνι,
διὰ νὰ τυπώνεται, καὶ οὕτω γύρισον αὐτὸ γύρωθεν τοῦ στεφανίου· εἴτα ἐβγάνοντας τὰ
χαρτῖα ἴσασον τὴν ὄψιν ἀπὸ τριγύρου μὲ τὸ μιστρί καὶ γύρισον αὐτὸ μὲ ψιμύθιον
καὶ μὲ τὸ ὀξύ, καὶ ἄφες το νὰ στεγνώσῃ διὰ νὰ βάλῃς μάλαγμα μὲ τὸ μουνδέντιον.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ βάλῃς λαζούρι εἰς τὸν τοῖχον.

§ 17. Ἐπάρε πίτυρα καὶ πλύνοντάς τα στραγγισέ τα, τὸ δὲ νερὸν ἐκεῖνο βάλε το
νὰ κατακάθισῃ καὶ χύνοντάς το, ἕως οὗ νὰ μείνῃ τὸ πηκτὸν, καὶ βάλε το νὰ βράσῃ·
μετὰ δὲ τὸ βράσιμον ἀνακατώνοντας μὲ τὸ λαζούρι βάλε εἰς τοὺς κάμπους τοῦ τοίχου.
Πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὸ νερὸν ὅπου πλύνουν τὰ πίτυρα χύνοντές το βάλλουν ἄλλο δεύ-
τερον καὶ βράζει μὲ τὰ πίτυρα ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ὥρας· εἴτα στραγγίζοντές το γίνεται φασὶ
καλὴ κόλλα· οὐ δὲ εἰ θέλεις δοκίμασον αὐτήν· ὅμως βλέπε καλῶς, ὅταν βάνῃς λαζούρι,
νὰ εἶναι ὁ τοῖχος πολλὰ ξηρὸς.

green earth as a proplasma. Prepare only a bright light colour and
put the proplasma first on the garment and then the light colour.
Do the drawing and mark the shadows in the same green. Apply
the lights only in a light colour and with white straight away. Put
the lights right on to the local colour and on other colours as
Frangos (Katellanos) does. Put on the ground for the other bright
colours in this way too.

How raised nimbi are made in a fresco.

16. After you have sketched the Saint, draw his nimbus with a pair
of compasses. Then take lime and tow and form a raised nimbus.
Only take care that you do not cover the hair (with it). Then stick
gold leaf on the places that you have raised, so that the lime is no
longer visible. Then draw a circle for a second time with the com-
passes on the gold leaf to mark the nimbus. After you have taken
away the (compass) rod with which you have made the scratch
mark, fix the curve of the compasses carefully, put on the foot part,
hit it with an axe so that it sits firmly and take the compasses in
a circle round the nimbus. Then take away the gold leaf, smooth
the opsis layer round about in a circle with a trowel and draw the
nimbus with white lead and caput mortuum and let it set so that
you can apply the gold with mixtion.

How azurite is used on a wall.

17. Take clay and wash and sift it. But let this water settle and
pour it off until the solid part remains and put it on to boil. After
boiling, beat it up with the azurite and put it on the (corresponding)
areas of the wall. Many people say that the water in which the clay
has been washed should be poured off and they take fresh water
and this is boiled with the clay for a considerable time. After filter-
ing — so they say — it makes a good paste. Try it if you wish, but
take care that the wall is very dry when you put on the blue.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ ποιήσης μουρδέντιον διὰ νὰ χρυσώσης.

§ 18 Ἐπάρε σουλιγένι δράμια 30 καὶ ὠχραν ψύλῃν δράμια 3 καὶ ὕστρανθον ἑνὶ δράμια 3 καὶ τζιγγιάρι δράμιον 1 καὶ ψιμύθιον δράμ. 1. Ταῦτα πάντα ξηρὰ τρίψον καλῶς εἰς μάρμαρον χωρὶς ἄλλο τίποτε· εἴτα συνάξας αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ μαρμάρου βάλε τα εἰς χαρτίον, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ χρυσώσης, βάλε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς πινάκιον ὅσον νὰ σοῦ φθάσῃ εἰς τὸ νὰ κάμῃς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν σου· ἢ ἂν θέλῃς βάλε μόνον σουλιγένι ξηροτριμμένον· εἴτα βράσον μπεζίρι, ἕως οὗ νὰ πήξῃ νὰ γένῃ ὡσαν μέλι, καὶ ὅση εἶναι ἡ βαφή βάλε καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μπεζίρι βρασμένον, καὶ ἀνακάτωσέ τα οὐ πολὺ μὲ ἓνα ξύλον, ἢ μὲ τὸ δάκτυλόν σου, ἕως ὅπου νὰ ἐνωθῶν· καὶ τότε ἀλειψὼν τὰ στεφάνια τῶν ἁγίων εἰς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ χρύσωσον. Ὅμοίως καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βούλει νὰ χρυσώσης, ἢ πετζι ἢ γιαντὶ ἢ μάρμαρον, ἐντὸς ἢ ἐκτὸς, ἀλειψὼν αὐτὰ πρότερον μὲ τὸ μουρδέντιον, εἴτα χρύσωσον αὐτά. Ὅταν δὲ θέλῃς νὰ χρυσώσης πορὶ, πότισέ το λινέλι εἰς τὸν ἀέρα μίαν φορὰν, καὶ ἄφες αὐτὸ νὰ στεγνώσῃ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· εἴτα ἀλείψας αὐτὸ μὲ τὸ μουρδέντιον ἄφες το νὰ στεγνώσῃ καὶ χρύσωσον ἐπάνω εἰς αὐτό· καὶ εἰ μὲν εἶναι ἔξω, ποιήσον οὕτως· εἰ δὲ εἶναι μέσα, χρύσωσον μὲ κόλλαν. Ὅμοίως ποίει καὶ εἰς σίδηρον καὶ εἰς χάλκωμα καὶ εἰς μόλυβδον· τὸ δὲ πανίον πότισον πρῶτον κόλλαν εἰς ὅσον τόπον μέλλει νὰ πέσῃ τὸ μάλαγμα, εἴτα ἀλειψὼν αὐτὸ μουρδέντιον καὶ χρύσωσον καὶ γίνεται καλὸν ὡς θέλεις· ὅμως βλέπε νὰ μὴν ἀνακατώσης πολὺ μουρδέντιον, ὅτι τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν πῆζει καὶ δὲν δουλεύεται.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ βάνῃς μάλαγμα εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, εἰς τὰ στεφάνια καὶ ὅπου θέλεις.

§ 19. Τελειώνοντας τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὧ μαθητά, ἄφες τὴν νὰ στεγνώσῃ καλὰ· ἔπειτα ποιήσον μουρδέντιον, ὅσον ἀπεικάζεις ὅπου νὰ σοῦ φθάσῃ διὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν σου, καὶ ἀλειψὼν τὰ στεφάνια τῶν ἁγίων· ποιήσον δὲ καὶ ἄστρα. Ὅμως βλέπε νὰ μὴν κάμῃς τὰ ἄστρα πρὶν νὰ βάλῃς τὸ λαζούρι, διότι ἂν τὰ βάλῃς ὑστερώτερα ἀπὸ τὸ λαζούρι, κατὰ τὴν ὥραν γίνονται· ὅμως ὕστερα πίπτουν. Ἀφοῦ λοιπὸν κάμῃς τὰ ἄστρα καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι βούλῃσαι, ἄφες νὰ ψυχνιάσουν ὀλίγον· εἴτα δοκίμασον τοιοῦτοτρόπως· ἄγγισον τὸν δάκτυλόν σου, καὶ εἰ μὲν κολλᾷ καὶ σύροντάς τον ὀπίσω δὲν παίρνει μουρδέντιον (διότι ἐτζίπωσε), τότε κόψον τὸ μάλαγμα μὲ ὅλον τὸ χαρτίον μὲ ψαλίδιον εἰς ὅ τι κομμάτια σοῦ κάμουν χρεια, καὶ οὕτω σηκώνοντας τὸ μάλαγμα μὲ ὅλον τὸ χαρτίον βάνε το εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου κάμνει χρεια μὲ προσοχήν, διὰ νὰ μὴ στραβῶνῃ, καὶ πατώντας μὲ τὰ δάκτυλά σου τὸ χαρτίον μὲ ἐπιτηδεϊότητα ἐλαφρά, διὰ νὰ κολλήσῃ τὸ μάλαγμα, ἔβγανε ὀπίσω τὸ

How mixtion is made for gilding.

18. Take 30 dramia suligeni, 3 dramia fine ochre, 3 dramia shell and 1 dramion copper green and 1 dramion white lead. Rub all this in a dry state on marble without other additions. Gather it up from the marble slab, lay it in paper and, if you want to do gilding, put some in a small vessel, just the amount needed for your work. Or, if you like, take only suligeni, rubbed in a dry state, then boil linseed oil so that it thickens and becomes like honey and take as much linseed oil as there is colouring and stir both — not too hard — with a stick or your finger until they combine. Then spread it over the nimbi of the Saints on the wall and gild them. If you want to gild other things, leather, glass flux or marble, in inside or outside areas, smear them first with mixtion and then gild them. If you want to gild porous stone, soak it in linseed oil in the air and let it dry for three days. Then smear it with the mixtion. Let it set and gild over it. If it is in the open air, do it like that. In an inside area gild it with size. Do this also on iron, copper and lead. But with canvas, first soak it in size at the place where the gold is to come, then spread mixtion over it and gild it and it will turn out as you wish. But take care that you do not stir the mixtion too hard, or it will set the next day and cannot be worked.

How nimbi and other items are gilded on a wall.

19. When you have completed the painting, my pupil, let it set properly. Then make mixtion in the amount necessary for your work and smear the nimbi of the Saints (with it), also the stars. But take care that you do not make the stars after you have put on the blue, as, if you put them on after the blue, they will turn out well for the time being, but will fall off later. So now make stars and whatever else you wish and let them dry slightly, then test what you have done as follows: touch it with your finger and if it sticks on and, when you run over it, the mixtion that is underneath does not come away with it (because it has formed a skin), then cut the gold and the sheet of paper with scissors into as many pieces as you think necessary. Take the gold with the whole of the paper and lay it carefully on the place where it is needed so that it does

χαρτίον καὶ καθαρίζε το μὲ τὸ λαγοπόδι καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔχει καμμίαν τρύπαν, ἔπαιρνε μὲ τὸ λαγοπόδι, καὶ βάνοντας ἐπάνω κολλᾷ καὶ γίνεται καλόν. Οὕτω χρύσωσον καὶ ἄλλον εἰ τι θέλεις, ἢ ἄστρο ἢ χρυσοκονδύλιον· ὅταν σύρῃς μὲ τὸ μουρδέντιον εἰς τὸν τοῖχον τὲς χρυσοκονδυλίας, βάνοντας ὀλίγον νέφτι σύρνει καὶ τοιοιτοτρόπως λαμβάνει τέλος ἡ ἱστορία.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν διαφόρους ἐγράψαμέν σοι ἐρμηνείας· σὺ δέ, ὦ φιλόπονε, ἔκλεξον ὅποιαν θέλεις.

Ἐπίλογος πρὸς τὸν φιλόπονον μαθητήν.

§ 20. Γίνωσκε, ὦ φιλομαθὴς μαθητά, πῶς ἀνίσως θέλεις ἐπιχειρισθῆς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην, πρῶτον πρέπει νὰ ἐρευνήσῃς ἀκριβῶς εἰς τὸ νὰ εὕρῃς ἔμπειρον διδάσκαλον εἰς αὐτήν· εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν ἐπιτύχῃς, πρέπει εἶναι εὐρίσκοντας ἀρχέτυπα αὐτῆς τῆς τέχνης νὰ κοπιάσῃς ἱκανὸν καιρὸν σχεδιάζοντας μὲ τὰ μέτρα, ὅπου ἐρμηνεύσαμεν σοι, διὰ νὰ μάθῃς τὰ σχήματα καλῶτα· ἔπειτα νὰ ὑπάγῃς εἰς παλαιὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανσελήνου ἐκκλησίας ἱστορισμένας, διὰ νὰ ἐβγάλῃς ἀντίβολα, καθὼς σοῦ ἐρμηνεύσαμεν· πάλιν νὰ μὴν κάμῃς τὸ ἔργον σου ἀπλῶς καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀνεπιμελῶς καὶ ἀνευλαβῶς, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ, ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ θεῖον ἔργον. Πρόσσεγες οὖν, ἀφ' οὗ ἐκβάλῃς τὸ ἀνθίβολον κἂν τε ἀπὸ τοῖχον κἂν τε ἀπὸ εἰκόνας, νὰ πλύνῃς καλῶς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον μὲ καθαρὸν σφογγάριον, διὰ νὰ καθαρίσῃς τὴν μαυράδα ὅλην· διότι, ἂν δὲν τὸ πλύνῃς, παρעυθὺς ἀπομένει ἡ μαυράδα ἐπάνω καὶ ὕστερον πλέον δὲν καθαρίζεται, καὶ οὕτω θέλεις ὑποπέσει εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀνευλαβείας καὶ ἀτιμίας ἔγκλημα καὶ ὡς πάρορων ἐν ἀφοβίᾳ καὶ καταφρονῶν τὰς θείας (εἰκόνας) ἀπολογηθῇ· ἐπειδὴ, ὡς περ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἡ τιμὴ τῆς εἰκόνας πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν μικράν μου καὶ ταπεινὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ παραγγελίαν, ὦ φιλότῃς, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐνθέψ καὶ εὐλκρινεῖ φιλᾶδελφία ποιούμενος, φοβούμενος τὸ κρίμα, διότι καὶ ἐγὼ ἡῶρα εἰς πολλοὺς τόπους, ὅπου τινὲς τῶν ζωγράφων εἶχαν ἐκβαλμένα ἀνθίβολα, οἵτινες, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἴτε ἀμαθίᾳ εἴτε ἀνευλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀφοβίᾳ κρίματος φερόμενοι, δὲν ἐπλυναν παρעυθὺς τὰς εἰκόνας, ἀμὴ τὰς ἄφῃσαν οὕτω μαυρισμένας· τὰς ὁποίας παντοιοτρόπως ἠθέλησα νὰ τὲς πλύνω καὶ νὰ τὲς καθαρίσω καὶ δὲν ἐδυνήθην. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν, ὅπου θέλεις νὰ ἐκβάλῃς ἀνθίβολον, τύχη καὶ εἶναι παλαιὰ καὶ δὲν φαίνονται αἱ κονδυλίας, ἢ εἶναι ὁ γύψος σεσαπρωμένος καὶ φοβεῖσαι νὰ τὴν πλύνῃς, διὰ νὰ μὴν χαλάσῃ ποιήσον οὕτω·

not become crumpled. Pat the paper gently and skilfully with your finger so that the gold sticks on, take away the paper and polish it with a hare's foot. If it has a hole in it, take up (another gold leaf) with the hare's foot and lay it on and stick it down and all will be well. Gild other things in this way if you wish: stars or gold ornaments. If you put the gold ornaments on the wall with mixtion, take a little turpentine.

And so ends wall painting.

We have written down the various instructions as best we could. But you, oh painstaking pupil, choose whichever you wish.

Concluding remarks to the painstaking pupil.

20. Know this, oh studious pupil, if you take up this art, you must look carefully for a teacher with experience in it. But, if you find no-one, you must seek out models of this art for yourself and copy them for as long as is necessary, sketching within the limits of what we have instructed you to do so that you learn the best schemata. Then you must go into old churches painted by Panselinos and take tracings, as we have taught you to do. But, once again, do not simply carry out your work just as it comes without reverence, but piously in the fear of God as a holy and divine task.

Take care that you wash well with a clean sponge the original from which you take the tracing, whether it be a wall painting or an icon, to clean off all the dirt, because, if you do not wash it, the dirt will stay on and it cannot be cleaned later on and you will fall into the crime of irreverence and desecration. You will have disregarded and despised the divine icons in a godless manner and you will be accused accordingly.

Just as — according to Basil the Great — the honour shown to an icon is passed on to the original, the reverse is also true. Beloved, I am giving you this small and humble exhortation and suggestion in a spirit of sincere and divinely inspired love, fearing an offence, as I have found painters in many places who have taken tracings, (but) did not wash the pictures at once, because they were careless or were heedless of sacrilege, and left them in such a dirty state that I could not wash and clean them at all when I wanted to do so. But if the picture from which you want to take the tracing is

πρώτον μάλωσον αὐτήν, εἴτα βερνίκιασον καὶ οὕτως ἐκβάλῃς τὸ ἀντίβολον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλύνον αὐτήν καλῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς κατὰ τὴν προγραφειῶσάν σοι ἐρμηνείαν. Ἰδοὺ τοίνυν σὺν Θεῷ τὰ ὅσα ἐδυνήθηθι ἀφθόνως ἐρμήνευσά σοι καὶ φιλαλήθως· σὺ δέ, ὦ ἀγαπητέ, πρόσχε καλῶς μὴ φειδόμενος κόπου πόνου τε καὶ ἰδρώτος, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὅσης πλείστης ἐπιμελείας, πόθου δὲ καὶ προθυμίας νὰ ἐκπαιδευθῇς καὶ νὰ μάθῃς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην ἐντελέστατα· διότι αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον εἶναι θεῖον, ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν θεοπαράδοτον. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι πασίδηλον καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλα πολλά, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀχειροποίητον καὶ σεβασμίαν εἰκόνα, ὅπου αὐτὸς ὁ Θεάνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκμάξας τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἑδέσση Ἀβγαρον τὸ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μανδηλίῳ θεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐκτύπωμα· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῇ ὑπεράγῳ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου τοιοῦτον καλὸν εὐλαβὲς καὶ πάντιμον ἔργον εὐαπόδεκτον καὶ ἀρεστὸν ἐφάνη, γνωστὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτε ἐπηγγήθη καὶ εὐλόγησε τὸν πανεύφημον ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην, εἰποῦσα τὸ "Ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἐξ ἐμοῦ τεχθέντος δι' ἐμοῦ μετ' αὐτῶν". Οὐ μὲν δὲ ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄπειρα θαύματα, ὅπου ἐτέλεσαν καὶ ἐκτελοῦν καὶ αἱ δεσποτικαὶ καὶ θεομητορικαὶ σεβάσματα· εἰκόνες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων πάντων, ἀποδεικνύται ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης εὐκρόσδεκτον θεάρεστον καὶ τίμιον εἶναι. Διὰ τοῦτο λοιπόν, ὅσοι εὐλαβῶς ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ ἐπιπόνως τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, χάριν καὶ εὐλογίαν Θεοῦθεν λαμβάνουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ φιλοχρηματίας χάριν πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀνευλαβῶς καὶ ἀνεπιμελῶς τοῦτο ἐπιχειροῦνται, προσεχέτωσαν καλῶς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους μεταμεληθῆτωσαν, ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν τοῦ φιλαργυρίου περιπεσόντος καὶ ὁμοτρόπου αὐτοῖς Ἰούδα ἐν τῷ τῆς γεννῆς πυρὶ τιμωρίαν· ἥς ῥυσθίημεν πάντες οἱ εὐσεβεῖς ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπερενδόξου Θεοτόκου, τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν.

old and the brush (strokes) no longer appear, or the gesso (ground) is spoilt and would be destroyed by washing, then do the following: repair it, then varnish and take the tracing and wash it well and carefully according to the instructions just given to you. Look, this is all that I can pass on to you with God's help, in no spirit of envy and with a love of truth. But you, beloved, see that you do not shun all this toil and sweat, but train yourself up with the utmost care and confidence and learn this art thoroughly, as this is divine work, or rather, work that has been entrusted to you by God. This is shown also by many other things, notably the venerable picture not made by human hands, which Jesus Christ Himself, God incarnate, having made an impression of His most holy countenance, sent to Abgar of Edessa, His divine imprint on the sacred Mandylion. It is known to all that the most holy Mother of our Lord Herself considered this good, pious and sacred work a proper and excellent thing, as She blessed and praised the revered Apostle and Evangelist Luke for his skill and said to him: "The grace of Him Whom I bore is upon them." Has it not also been proved by the unfathomable miracles wrought by the venerable icons of our Lord, His Mother and all the other Saints, and (still) being wrought by them, that the work of the painter is gladly accepted by God and appears good and pleasing in His sight? So all who accomplish this piously and carefully and painstakingly receive the grace and blessing of God. But those who undertake it from a greedy lust for gain, without care or piety, let them take heed and alter themselves before they die, picturing to themselves the punishment of Hell fire that overtook Judas who, like them, lusted after money. May all we devout men be freed from that fate through the intercession of the Mother of God, to Whom be all praise, and of the holy Apostle and Evangelist Luke and all the Saints. Amen.

LITERATURE ON PAINTING TECHNIQUES

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- A. Eibner Entwicklung und Werkstoffe der Wandmalerei vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit, Munich 1926.
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EXPLANATORY INDEX

containing the specialised terms in the GUIDE TO WALL PAINTING. The numerals refer to the section numbers.

ἀνοιχτάριον	1	(starting brush), sketching brush
ἀρσενίκι also ἀρρενικόν	15	orpiment, arsenic trisulphide, dug out in Pontus. Eibner 190; Raehlmann 23 f.; Waetzold 151
ἄσβεστος	2, 3, 4, 16	lime
βάψις	3	plaster given a yellowish colouring with straw
βόλον	10, 12	probably a white bole, the <i>paraetonium</i> of Pliny, no doubt from Crete and Cyrene, but hardly meerscham as Pliny thought. Eibner 199
γιάλι	18	glass flux
γλυκασμός	11	a colour mixture from proplasmos and flesh colour
διαβήτης	16	compasses
θράμι	8	old weight of approx. 3 g
καύκιον	14	receptacle, really a skull
καλάθα	2	basket
κάμπος	17	from Ital. <i>campo</i> — field, plain
καροῦτα	2	wagon, box; from Lat. and Ital. <i>carro</i> . Derived from this is <i>καρότσα</i> — carriage; <i>carossa</i> > <i>καρότσα</i> > <i>καροῦτσα</i> (muffling of sound) > <i>καροῦττα</i> > <i>καροῦτα</i> (avoidance of double consonant)
κιννάβαρι	13	cinnabar, probably also called minium and <i>ἔμμιον</i> , obtained in ancient times from Spanish and Ephesian mines. Raehlmann 42—45; Eibner 191—195; Waetzold 151
κοκκινάδι	12	red
κόλλα	17, 18	Lat. <i>collum</i> — size or glue
κολόρι	15	Lat. <i>color</i> — local colour
κονδύλιον	1	brush

κονιορτός	3	dust, chaff
κοπάνα	3, 4	mortar tub
λαγοπόδι	19	"hare's foot", probably a bone polishing instrument
λαζούρι	14, 15, 17, 19	occasionally <i>λαχούρι</i> , <i>λαξούριον</i> , Arab. <i>lazaward</i> , Lat. <i>lazurium</i> — azurite or armenium, a blue pigment: basic carbonate of copper which is transformed into malachite after a considerable period of taking up water and giving off carbonic acid. Eibner 195; Raehlmann 13—15; Waetzold 152 f.
λάκκα	15	Ital. <i>lacca rossa</i> , Pers. <i>lac</i> — madder lake. Raehlmann 46—49
λάκκα		see also <i>πλάκκα</i>
λάκκος	2	pit, hole
λάμα (λευκόν)	15	light colour
λευκό ὄξύ	6, 13	light caput mortuum, cf. <i>ὄξύ</i>
λινόβυλα	4	flax fibres
λινός (λινόν)	15	robe, garment
λουλάκι (τό λεγόμενον χίντι)	14	indigo (from India). Eibner 206; Raehlmann 3 f.; Waetzold 152
μαῦρο	6, 9	black
μαῦρο ὄξύ	9	dark caput mortuum, cf. <i>ὄξύ</i>
μαῦρο φιλόν	9	(ὁποῦ τὸ μαζώνουν ἀπὸ τὸν καπνὸν τοῦ θαδίου) lamp-black
μάλαγμα	16	gold
μαλάς	5	trowel
μέλι	18	honey
μιστρί or μιστρί	5, 6, 16	trowel
μουσοῦρι	7	Lat. <i>mensura</i> — vessel
μουρδέντιον	16, 18, 19	mordant, mixtion, corrosive substance, oil base for gilding
μπεζίρι	18	linseed oil
μπρισίμι	1	silk, silk thread, a word borrowed from Turkish
νέφτι	19	(νάφτα) turpentine
ὄξύ	6, 16	oxide, Fr. <i>rouge oxyde</i> — violet oxide, a burnt ochre, caput mortuum
ὄξύγγι	2	lard
ὄστρανθον	18	(also <i>ὄστρακον</i>) shell of shellfish
οἰμβρα	9	umber, an ochre containing manganese and iron. Raehlmann 22 f.
ὄψις	4, 16	top plaster layer, the second coat on which the painting is done
πετζί	18	leather
πίτυρον	17	clay
πλάκα πρασίνι	8, 15	<i>θεοδοσιτέον</i> , <i>creta viridis</i> , green earth, the best quality being obtained in ancient times near Smyrna. Possibly a corruption of the text, in place of <i>λάκκα πρασίνι</i> — green organic vegetable lake. Eibner 190; Raehlmann 33 f. and 34 f.; Waetzold 153

πριέλι	6	Ital. <i>prillo</i> or <i>brillo</i> — compasses
προπλασμός	6, 11	colour mixture for underpainting, a kind of primer, the <i>verdaccio</i> of Cennini
προπλασάριον	1	brush for applying the proplasma, the underpainting
πορί	18	porous stone
πτύαρι	2	trowel
σάρκα	10, 11, 12	flesh colour or tint
σαρκοστάριον	1	brush for applying flesh colour
σκάλα	5	Lat. <i>scala</i> — ladder, scaffolding
σκεπάρι	16	hatchet, axe
σουλιγένι	18	The meaning of this word is not clear. The first part of the recipe, as in Cennini, Chp. 151, seems to indicate a thickened oil. But mention is later made of suligeni being rubbed when dry
σφογγάριον	20	sponge
τζάπα or τσάπα	2, 3	a Romance loan-word: <i>Tšapa</i> , Ital. <i>zappa</i> — hook, mortar hook. G. Meyer, Neugr. Studien IV, Vienna 1895, 92
τζιγκιάρι	15, 18	Pers. <i>Zengâr</i> — copper green, copper acetate. Eibner 196; Raehlmann 32 f.; Waetzold 154
φούρνος	7	Fr. <i>fourneau</i> — oven, stove
Φράγκος	15	(Κατελλάνος) post-Byzantine painter of the 16th century
χουάριος	5	scoop
χώμα	5	earth, loam, clay
ψιμύθιον	16, 18	white, probably white lead; see ψιμύθιον τῆς εἰκόνης
ψιμύθιον τῆς εἰκόνης	15	white lead. Raehlmann 52—54; Waetzold 151
ψιμύθιον τοῦ τοιχοῦ	7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15	wall white, the <i>bianco San Giovanni</i> of Cennini. Eibner 350 f.; Waetzold 151
ῥα	8, 13, 18	ochre, sinope. Eibner 190; Raehlmann 21 f.; Waetzold 153
ῥα λεπτή	12	light ochre
ῥα θασιτική	10	Thasos ochre

From the point of view of structure and linguistic form there appear to be a number of joins in the text and this leads us to conclude that it was compiled from various sources that can be picked out separately.

A whole group of instructions that we shall refer to as D are merely texts taken over and adapted from other technical fields, especially easel painting. All the processes described here only found their way into wall painting at a very late date: 16. How raised nimbi are made in a fresco. 18. How mixtion is made for gilding. 19. How nimbi and other items are gilded on a wall. Also parts of 20. Concluding remarks to the painstaking pupil. These instructions, in particular the one concerning oil gilding, are naturally old, as we can see from comparison with similar rules in the Lucca manuscript and other early documents dealing with methods. But these processes are alien to Byzantine wall painting.

and were only used here and there in the post-Byzantine era, if at all. Group D is therefore probably the last part inserted in the text on wall painting.

Up to that point the small treatise consisted of three sections. The first dealt with the plaster and its individual layers and the second with the various sketching and painting procedures. Finally, the third referred to individual colours and some of the most important mixtures used in painting — an underpainting colour for flesh, the so-called proplasma, a light flesh colour and a mixture of both, the glykasma.

Even this old central core of the handbook, extending up to and including No. 15, reveals in its present form the existence of several different prototypes that have been combined and added to and revised in various ways.

A treatise like this can hardly have been produced on a desk, but amid all the bustling activity of a workshop. The master may have explained and dictated the individual parts of the whole process in short sentences to a pupil as the work was going on. In this way a workshop guide came into existence and made the master's task of instructing his apprentices much simpler. Instead of always having to explain the whole process over again to a new pupil, all he had to do was to ask a journeyman to read out the workshop guide as the work was going on. In this way he was able to devote himself entirely to painting, without continually having to give explanations over and above his work. Another person explained the individual processes by reading aloud from the text. Such manuals were no doubt handed down within the workshops. Later masters would have made additions to them and entire sections would have been altered in keeping with changes or improvements in the methods and would have been rewritten. If the books became tattered in the course of frequent use, new copies would have been made. Illegible portions would have been filled in and out-of-date information would have been omitted and modified. As a result of all this, no really old manuscript from the Byzantine era has been preserved. None of these books appears to have survived for more than two hundred years without having to be rewritten. The information about colours and mixtures of colours is probably the part that has altered most in the course of time, in keeping with the colours actually available. So there must have been almost as many painters' guides as there were workshops.

This being so, it is surprising to find how much these workshop guides have in common in spite of their varied origins. But in order to solve this whole problem we must find out to what extent the results of the physical and chemical analyses and the observations on painting techniques in the Catalogue agree with the source texts handed down to us. To anticipate briefly the results, it would appear that the texts do consist largely of very old rules, going back in part to Pliny and Vitruvius, but, viewed as a whole, they tend to give a simplified and expurgated and perhaps even a rather rigid and selective picture that in no way reflects the richly varied and wide-ranging possibilities of Byzantine wall painting. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is that the text handed down to us as it stands to-day only indicates the technical and manual practices of a

particular school, namely, the "Athos School". The knowledge handed down in the other schools must have been lost at some time or other and so the procedures used in the then leading "Athos School" might well have been adopted in these others too. The second possible explanation appears to me the more likely — namely, that technical and manual processes in all the workshops were, like style, subject to progress and change. The painters' guides would therefore have adapted themselves to this process of change.

What we have just said about the handing down of texts within the workshops fits in very well with this idea of changes in techniques, always moving towards simplification and standardisation. In the course of development all the many technical possibilities are reduced to a mere handful or perhaps only one single well-tryed method that has been found to produce reliable results. It is no mere accident that this process of development, aimed at a definite and standardised set of workshop usages, was accompanied by a progressive stiffening of form in post-Byzantine art. The painters' guide or guides do not therefore give a correct or complete picture of old artistic methods, but single out one relatively late method. Old processes are not given either in the text or as a separate text, unless they are still used in the late methods. They represent unavoidable basic rules about plaster additives (straw and tow) and true lime and non-lime colours. These two points are, in fact, all that has survived from the ancient and truly Byzantine kernel of the instructions on wall painting. But rules like these also appear in modern manuals, although we cannot trace any textual tradition for them back to ancient times, in spite of the fact that Max Doerner²⁷⁹ was aware of the relevant passages in early writings a long time ago. When he wrote his section on the colours that can be used in frescoes he did not draw upon a knowledge of the specialist literature of classical, mediaeval and Renaissance times, which he merely quoted as evidence, but upon a knowledge of materials based on the same physical and chemical processes in the 20th century as in days gone by.

All this has to be borne in mind when we are trying to make a detailed study of the Guide to Wall Painting in its present textual form.

The individual paragraphs begin with stereotyped wording. We can pick out two versions. One always begins with a subordinate clause of condition: "Ὅταν θέλεις . . . — "if you wish to do this or that . . ." Paragraphs 2, 5 and 6 belong to this category. In one case (parag. 13) it is changed to: Εἰ εἶναι . . . — "if . . ." The other starts with a plain imperative, usually ἔπαρτε . . . — "take . . ." (parags. 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 18), but sometimes βάλτε . . . — "put . . ." (parags. 10 and 12). This very tendency to adhere to a set form at the beginning of every single instruction would suggest that two originally separate traditions have been combined here. We seldom find a departure from the accustomed formula, as happens in parag. 7: Ἐρευνώντας να εὑρῇς . . . — "look for . . ." To sum up, we are faced with varying linguistic forms and can differentiate between an "if" and a "take" group.

As for the rest of the wording, the sections that we have differentiated in this way cannot always be separated from one another. This is because of the centuries of revision

which have on occasion left hardly any of the original text, apart from the introductory phrase. So in practice little is gained by making this distinction.

The break at the beginning of parag. 5 is a different thing altogether. Suddenly, as in parag. 2 and parag. 20, the form of address used is "my pupil". This illustrates quite a different tradition, also from the point of view of subject matter. Work starts with the setting up of scaffolding, whereas elsewhere it must have begun with the preparation of the lime and the various kinds of plaster. The tradition handed down to us in parag. 5 refers, moreover, to the painting of a church, whereas parag. 2 simply deals with wall painting.

But the instructions in parag. 5 are complicated, and therefore interesting, in other respects too. A reviser appears to have fitted them skilfully into the manual processes of the work and only the introductory sentences reveal that they came originally at the start of a different handbook, in which it was obviously assumed that the pupil knew how to prepare the individual plaster layers, so it began merely with the actual work in the church. The ending clearly shows that these instructions should be inserted in the running text: "After you have put on the opsis, smooth it well (i. e., the whole of the painting plaster applied) with a trowel . . ." The following parag. 6 then goes on to say: "If you wish to sketch on a wall, first smooth the area . . ." (i. e., only the part of the total painting surface where the sketching is to be done first). We are struck not only by the linguistic duplication of the smoothing process, but also by the difference in the technical sequence. In one case the entire plaster layer that has been applied is smoothed and in the other case only the part that is to be worked on. Smoothing and occasionally even beating of the plaster encourages it to set, amongst other things. Even if the entire area was smoothed at once, *fa presto* painters succeeded in putting their painting on wet plaster. If things ever went wrong, the mistake could be rectified by roughening the surface and scratching off the skin that had formed, which was actually recommended as a last resort — another added portion — in the second half of parag. 6. On the other hand, more cautious and conscientious masters recommended that their apprentices apply the painting plaster all at once, but smooth it only bit by bit — or, one is tempted to say, according to the daily work quota — in order not to have to do too much of the painting in secco. I will not go into details here as to which of the two processes is the older. I would merely mention the technique of *buon fresco*, involving daily quotas of work, which was not developed until the period of the Italian Renaissance. This has in all probability left its mark on parag. 6 of our text.

In the same paragraph we are struck by another passage, recommending that the *proplasmos* — an undercoat with a marked green tinge — should also be applied to draperies, whereas parag. 8 lays down that the *proplasmos* should only be put on the flesh, in the normal way. The entire text of parag. 6 seems to be full of variety and rather questionable. The beginning can be brought into line at once with the main tradition, which we shall refer to as A. The middle portion of this section, with its instructions about

pentimenti and the drying of plaster layers caused by slow work, is definitely a later addition, together with the last sentence. The penultimate one: "Put the proplasmos over the face as well..." can be interpreted as being transitional, marking an adaptation to parag. 8. The two preceding sentences: "Also smooth the face..." and "Also draw the lines of the draperies with this..." belong to the beginning and so to tradition A.

Colouring instructions begin in parag. 7 with the preparation of wall white. This reflects a very much older tradition, which in itself has nothing to do with the wall painting on wet lime which is being taught here in the guide. It definitely goes back to a secco painting method. In fresco work, i.e., painting on lime while it is still wet, pure lime is naturally used as the white material. Only in secco painting, whether lime or casein is used as the binding medium, is a special pulverised white required. This instruction — which is, moreover, based on classical recipes for wall white (paraetonium, melinum of Pliny I. 36 and Vitruvius VII. 7, 3) — certainly forms part of the oldest Byzantine tradition, which we shall refer to as B.

The subsequent instructions about colour, in parags. 8—15, where an extremely concise and brief wording is used, in contrast to parag. 7, are derived from a parallel tradition, C, and probably replace longer and more wordy sections in the B tradition. The wording of parag. 11 shows that the most up-to-date knowledge of particularly resourceful fa presto painters has been taken into consideration. The building up of the painting layer by layer from the underpainting and so on to the flesh colour, shadows, high-lighting and drawing was too slow for them. They devised a shortened process, as is candidly admitted in the last sentence: "... and it will be finished more rapidly." Here the complicated building up of individual paint layers had been abandoned and the shadows were improvised on the surface with a mixture of underpainting colour (proplasmos) and flesh colour.

Paragraphs 13 (the warning about cinnabar turning black) and 15 (about true lime and non-lime colours) go back to instructions dating from Roman times at least (Pliny XXXV. 7, 31). These have been mixed up with later additions and methods, from the 16th century, as is shown by the reference to the painter Frangos Katellanos who worked on Athos and in the Meteora Monasteries in Thessaly.

Parag. 20 — "Concluding remarks to the painstaking pupil" — is unique. Here too a series of prototypes have been combined more or less skilfully together. There may originally have been a concluding chapter here, outlining the orthodox theory about pictures briefly in the manner of the present concluding section: "Look, this is all." Sections about copies of pictures were later tagged on in front, partly dealing with wall painting, but sometimes quite blatantly referring only to easel painting, so we must reckon on there having been at least two, if not three, insertions. Fresco models are at least dealt with in the first section, especially those of Panselinos. And the second section too shows an effort on the part of the reviser to adapt his model to suit the different technique. In the third section, however, the textual model, originating from a handbook on easel

painting, is quoted word for word. So the mention of a gesso ground and varnish has simply been left in. This section therefore shows a connection with what we have found to be the latest D insertions (parags. 16 to 19), which also appear to have been taken from easel painting rules.

The immediate models for our text, A—D, which may come very largely from the 16th century, are not uniform either. They go back to several different prototypes and show traces of continuous revision throughout. This result is discouraging. The text does indeed contain linguistic and technical features belonging to the true Byzantine, and indeed the Roman, era, but, as a whole, describes wall painting procedures of the post-Byzantine era, which were in vogue from the 15th/16th until well into the 19th century.

This verdict is not in keeping with previous opinions and previous research findings, as put forward by Ernst Berger in particular and also by Alexander Eibner²⁸⁰. But our theory will have to be backed by more solid proof than can be obtained from an examination of the text of the Painters' Guide.

The text can be divided up as follows:

Prototypes	A	B (long wording)	C (short wording)	D (easel painting rules)
Plaster	2. lime 3. bottom plaster 4. painting plaster			
Work processes		5. (with remnants of A) plastering 6. sketching		
Colouring rules		7. wall white	8. flesh 9. drawing in black 10. flesh 11. flesh in shortened process 12. red 13. cinnabar 14. blue 15. lime colours	
Miscellaneous			17. blue in secco	16. raised nimbi 18. mixtion 19. gilding of nimbi 20. (beginning)
	20. (end)			

ANALYSES

Byzantine art has in the past been regarded as being absolutely rigid. People tended to think that the strict iconography and pictorial composition laid down almost dogmatically for centuries could not but produce a rigid ruling or canon about the materials to be used, handed down through the years in an unchanging form. Alexander Eibner believed that this hardening and, as it were, "canonisation" of iconography and pictorial composition took place during the Arian conflicts²⁸¹. These ideas, which have never been very convincing and are actually false, gained ground purely and simply because there had not been sufficient study and analysis of the materials used. From a few chemical analyses of early, middle and late Byzantine plasters and picture layers A. Eibner hoped to find a complete solution to the long historical and philological controversy that had been going on about the age of the technical part of the Athos book²⁸².

He felt that he had clearly established the fact that the typically Byzantine method of wall painting was the old fresco procedure of the early Middle Ages. There have been plenty of descriptions of this and it was the first method authenticated by the various sources. He thought that it differed from the process which Vitruvius described (inadequately as regards painting technique, but clearly from the point of view of materials) in that here only two thin layers consisting of pure slaked lime, free from sand, were present instead of seven thick and artificially concentrated plaster layers of lime and marble sand. The fibrous materials added were intended both to prevent the plaster from shrinking and cracking and to hasten movement of the dissolved slaked lime into the painting layers. This plaster technique was supposed to be modelled not on Ancient Greek wall plasters, but on the prehistoric type, in which fibrous materials were added to the mud of the hut walls. A further parallel would be Ancient Egyptian plasters made from Nile mud.

From a scientific point of view he felt that this technique was a much better fresco process than the so-called buon fresco of the Renaissance and was even more perfect than that employed in Antiquity, as the latter involved the use of about fifty per cent secco techniques²⁸³. In spite of this being his own special subject, Eibner was mistaken. If he had had a larger range and amount of material available to him for study he would not perhaps have fallen into this error. His mistake lay in assuming that there was only one Byzantine wall painting technique, so he thought that a single sample would be typical of its period.

A factor that was overlooked was that not only were different pigments used side by side at the same time, but there might be complete disparity in the binding media and plasters adopted. This could not, however, be deduced immediately from earlier investigations. Of course, this idea did suggest itself, but it was also possible to look on the results as representing a process of development in the different techniques used.

A brief survey of earlier analyses gives us the following picture:

1. Ephesus Church of St. John Sample 1a	bottom plaster 6—8 mm painting plaster 4—5 mm	lime and straw; very slight traces of quartz sand, not to be assessed as an additive; no sulphate, i. e., gypsum-free; hardly any magnesia, i. e., fat, pure lime. additive: primitive rock sand rich in mica in the ratio 2 : 1 with lime.
2. Ephesus Church of St. John Sample 1b, 1	bottom plaster intermed. plaster 20—25 mm painting plaster c. 15 mm	brick-dust mortar. additive: straw and 10 % primitive rock sand. sand-free lime, a very little sulphate and magnesia.
Sample 1b, 2	bottom plaster ? intermed. plaster 20 mm painting plaster 20 mm	additive: straw and 10 % primitive rock sand. sand-free lime, a very little sulphate and magnesia.
3. Ephesus Church of St. John pre-Just. south arm 5th cent.	bottom plaster 20 mm painting plaster 7—8 mm	32 % primitive rock sand; very small magnesia and sulphate content. 35 % primitive rock sand (mica schist), lime: sand 2 : 1.
4. Ephesus Church of St. John 7th/8th cent.	bottom plaster painting plaster 5—10 mm	as in 3. additive: marble sand without straw.
5. Rome S. Maria antiqua 8th/9th cent.	bottom plaster ? painting plaster 4—6 mm	Calcium carbonate with a very little iron and traces of magnesium (no hydraulic lime); no marble sand, no fibrous substances, only an infinitesimal amount of fine sand.
6. Athens Byz. Museum 17th cent.	only painting plaster 15 mm	additive: straw and some quartz sand.
7. Athens Byz. Museum	bottom plaster painting plaster	58 % sand, without straw; ferruginous, marly lime. pure lime with alumina and magnesium; no sand, some straw.
8. Ägina Paläachora about 1800	bottom plaster 7—8 mm painting plaster 3—4 mm	lean lime with a high magnesia content; quartz sand without fibrous substances. lime with high magnesia content; less quartz sand, no fibrous substances.

The Ephesian samples are quoted from *Forschungen in Ephesos IV. 3 Die Johanneskirche*, Vienna 1951, 238—243 and 248, and the others from Eibner 346 f. and 355.

The various samples are not uniform either in the number or thickness of the plaster layers. Use of a bottom plaster and a painting plaster seems to be the rule. Sample 6 with its single painting plaster is interpreted as being a late development, especially in view of the fact that the earlier plasters of the 5th century from Ephesus all have three layers, i. e., a bottom plaster, an intermediate plaster and a painting plaster. This impression is deceptive, as the recent analyses will show.

Even more misleading are general conclusions based on a qualitative analysis of the various plasters. From samples 5 to 8 Eibner felt justified in concluding that the addition of sand in each case was a sign that the plaster had been made at a late date. The usual items were, he thought, fibrous substances, with straw in the bottom plaster and tow in the painting plaster. If we based ourselves on this assumption, we could date the relevant rules in the Painters' Guide very far back and actually establish a connection between them and the making of Ancient Egyptian plasters.

Analysis of the Ephesian plasters 1 to 4 gives us a rather more accurate picture of the situation. In contrast to Eibner's assumption that sand was only added in the late period, it was shown here that sand was often used as an additive in quite early plasters.

But we can see something else too. The two samples 4 and 5 are almost contemporaneous. The Ephesian plaster contains sand, but the Roman one apparently contains neither sand nor any fibrous substance. There is therefore no standard technique in use everywhere. So there could not have been any definite or standard rules about plasters and their composition in those days. There were differences between the individual workshop traditions. The plaster technique appears, in fact, to have been adapted to suit what was available and perhaps also what was required at the time.

Experts on materials were and still are agreed, moreover, that lime was used in Byzantine plasters, as is indicated in the Athos book. The painting on this would have been lime painting, in most cases actually lime fresco painting, i. e., painting on a wet lime plaster.

In this connection, the results produced by the recent analyses, which can only be given briefly here, nearly always contradict the views held hitherto. The investigations are not yet complete. Quantitative analysis, referring to how much of what was used, is still going on and a series of further samples has still to be studied. A general survey of the results obtained by qualitative analysis, i. e., referring to what has actually been found in the plasters, will suffice for the moment.

The following samples have been examined so far:

1. XLIII, Cemil, Chapel of St. Stephen, layer I
2. IX, Göreme, Chapel 6a
3. XXIV, Göreme, Chapel 29, Kılıçlar Kilise, sample a
4. XXIV, Göreme, Chapel 29, Kılıçlar Kilise, sample b

5. XLVI, Soğanlı dere, Barbara Kilise
6. XXXVI, Susum Bayrı, St. Theodore
7. X, Göreme, Chapel 7, Tokalı Kilise, layer VI
8. XXXV, Tağar
9. XLI, Kemerli dere
10. XLVIII, Soğanlı dere, Karabaş Kilise, layer III
11. XLIX, Soğanlı dere, Canavar Kilise, layer I
12. XLIX, Soğanlı dere, Canavar Kilise, layer II
13. XLIII, Cemil, Chapel of St. Stephen, layer II
14. XXXIX, Tavşanlı Kilise, sample a
15. XXXIX, Tavşanlı Kilise, sample b
16. LXVII, Trebizond, St. Sabas, lower west chapel
17. LXIX, Trebizond, St. Sabas, east chapel
18. LXXV, Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers, Catacomb
19. LXXV, Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers, Apse Hall
20. LXXV, Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers, Burial Chamber

Two results are available for samples 1 to 6, so a maximum guarantee of reliability would appear to have been achieved.

Here are the various laboratory reports:

Laboratory Report 250 of 6th October 1966,

Dr. Denninger, Stuttgart, Institute of Painting Methods:

1. Thin brown painting on a white ground.
Microscopical findings: very thin reddish brown colouring layer, with pasty reddish brown colouring layers over it. Reddish brown pigment in fine particles.
Micro-analytical findings: reddish brown pigment — burnt ochre. White ground — gypsum burnt and then set, without sand added. A few black particles — charcoal black.
Chromatic binding analysis of the reddish brown colouring layer, applied as a paste: fresco painting.
2. Very thin bright green painting.
Microscopical findings: in the bright green paint layer, applied as a very thin transparent coat, no particles of pigment can be detected.
Micro-analytical findings: bright green pigment — organic colouring lake.
3. Green painting in fine particles.
Microscopical findings: a paint layer with cracks, containing binder. Very small particles of green pigment. In the gypsum: brownish black crystals of biotite mica.
Micro-analytical findings: green pigment — organic colouring lake.
4. Blackish green, dense painting layer.
Microscopical findings: yellowish ground mass with vegetable fibres; over this a green paint layer with fine particles, with a medium fine black paint layer superimposed on it.

Micro-analytical findings: ground mass — gypsum with alumina-containing sand and vegetable fibres.

Paint layer: green pigment — organic colouring lake. Black pigment — charcoal black.

5. Brown and brownish red painting.

Microscopical findings: on a hard sintered layer of lime plaster with a high sand content, a brown and brownish red pigment in fine particles, the latter mixed with charcoal black.

Micro-analytical findings: yellowish brown pigment — unburnt ochre. Reddish brown pigment — burnt ochre. Black pigment — charcoal black. White ground — lime.

Chromatic binding analysis: lime and casein painting, age approx. 800 ± 200 years.

6. Dark green painting layer.

Microscopical findings: fairly fine and coarse particles of green pigment.

Micro-analytical findings: ground — gypsum with sand containing alumina and traces of iron. Green pigment — copper silicate (chrysocolla).

Preliminary Report,

Dr. Friedrich Müller-Skjold, Kaiserslautern,

Mineralogical and petrographical findings, 16th July 1967.

"The sections and thin slices needed for these studies could only be prepared from samples providing sufficient experimental material.

"In the following pages a distinction is made between the painting plaster, bearing the painting, the top plaster, coming under it and only present here in sample 18, and the bottom plaster, applied straight to the wall. Whereas in Antique wall paintings a multi-layer system of plasters is the general rule, only three plasters appear to be present here at most.

"In sample 18, and less clearly in sample 19, the structure on the reverse side shows impressions made by masonry or a wooden construction, so the whole structure of the plaster must be present here. Three layers — the painting plaster, the top plaster and the bottom plaster — can be clearly distinguished in sample 18: the white painting layer 2 mm thick and the top plaster 6 mm thick with relatively fine particles of additive, compared with the bottom plaster of 12—14 mm with its coarser additive material.

"In samples 18 and 19 the additives present are grains of gneiss, schist, quartzite and, less commonly, small crystals of marble. In the top plaster of 18 there were some vegetable fibres or plant stems. The additive material in the bottom plaster of 19 also included granules of chlorite schist. Sample 19 only reveals two plasters, the bottom plaster 6 mm thick and, lying over it, the white painting plaster of 2 mm thickness. In these two samples the hardness of the plaster structure is remarkable.

"The painting layers of samples 2, 9 and 16 (in these there are only painting plasters) are interesting. The additive material put in these painting plasters included pumice stone, lava and characteristic volcanic minerals.

"The binding medium in these painting plasters — comparable with the set lime of a customary plaster — is a submicroscopic mass. Here only quantitative chemical analyses can supply definite information.

"The painting plaster of sample 2 reveals crystals of broken mountain gypsum, together with finely compacted gypsum needles, also evident in the painting plaster of sample 1."

Pigments and binding media, 8th October 1967.

"In the samples at my disposal I could clearly identify the following pigments:

yellow:	light ochre and gold ochre		
red:	cinnabar	white:	probably egg-shell white
light red:	burnt ochre	black:	bone black
bluish red:	iron oxide red	brown:	a kind of umber
green:	as copper could be detected, but the pigment was too finely powdered, the presence of malachite cannot be clearly established.		

"Among the samples, No. 5 behaves like a painting in buon fresco. The painting layer breaks up in such a way that the granules of pigment float in a characteristic manner in the dilute hydrochloric acid applied or can easily be wiped off the undercoat.

"A number of the samples give a false impression of buon fresco painting, but the effervescence occurring in the drops of hydrochloric acid is to be attributed to dissolution of a sintered layer of lime that has set in the course of time on the painting surface. This is seen, for example, in sample No. 7. A large number of painting layers resist the effect of acid and, where a reaction is present, this can always be ascribed to the paint support. The colour layer remains whole. Here the painting is fresco secco (samples 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16). Nos. 10 and 19 cannot be classified with any certainty as the consistency of the colouring layer has suffered from the effect of chemical reagents.

"In my opinion the binding media present are size and casein. This is definitely the case in samples 1, 2, 4 and 7, whereas in other samples the reaction to nitrogen compounds — a characteristic feature of size and casein, which are protein substances — is never entirely clear. The easiest way to distinguish between size and casein is by identification of phosphorus, which is present in casein, but not in size. But there was not sufficient material in any of the samples for the phosphorus test to be carried out. Any phosphorus present, even small amounts, can be more clearly identified by the separation method used in quantitative analysis. From my own experience the resistance shown to chemical reagents would appear to indicate lime and casein painting.

"An interesting point occurs in sample No. 2. Here we find small whitish grey curves applied as a paste. The binding medium is organic in nature and free from nitrogen. The question arises as to whether emulsions of vegetable gum were known at the time when this wall painting was created."

For purposes of comparison and in order to give an overall picture of these results obtained so far, we shall once more attempt to arrange them in tabular form:

Sample	Plaster	Additive	Plaster Binding Medium	Painting Binding Medium
1. XLIII, Cemil, Chapel of St. Stephen, layer I			finely compacted gypsum needles	size or casein definitely, secco
2. IX, Göreme, Chapel 6a	only painting plaster	pumice stone, lava and char. volcan. minerals	finely compacted gypsum needles and crystals of broken mountain gypsum	size or casein definitely, white organic, but nitrogen-free, vegetable gum?
3. XXIV, Göreme, Chapel 29, Kılıçlar Kilise, sample a		biotite mica	gypsum	
4. XXIV, Göreme, Chapel 29, Kılıçlar Kilise, sample b		alumina-containing sand and vegetable fibres	gypsum	size or casein definitely
5. XLVI, Soğanlı dere, Barbara Kilise		rich in sand	lime	lime fresco
6. XXXVI, Susum Bayrı, St. Theodore		alumina-containing sand and traces of iron	gypsum	secco
7. X, Göreme, Chapel 7, Tokalı Kilise, layer VI				secco, size or casein definitely
8. XXXV, Tağar				secco
9. XLI, Kemerli dere	only painting plaster			secco
10. XLVIII, Soğanlı dere, Karabaş Kilise, layer III				doubtful
11. XLIX, Soğanlı dere, Canavar Kilise, layer I				
12. XLIX, Soğanlı dere, Canavar Kilise, layer II				
13. XLIII, Cemil, Chapel of St. Stephen, layer II				
14. XXXIX, Tavşanlı Kilise, sample a				
15. XXXIX, Tavşanlı Kilise, sample b				
16. LXVII, Trebizond, St. Sabas, lower west chapel		pumice stone, lava and char. volcan. minerals		secco
17. LXIX, Trebizond, St. Sabas, east chapel				
18. LXXV, Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers, catacomb	painting plaster: 2 mm top plaster: 6 mm bottom plaster: 12—14 mm	granules of gneiss, schist, quartzite, less commonly small marble crystals, in the top plaster some vegetable fibres or plant stems		doubtful
19. LXXV, Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers, apse hall	painting plaster: 2 mm bottom plaster: 6 mm	granules of gneiss, schist, quartzite, less commonly small marble crystals, in the bottom plaster granules of chlorite schist		doubtful
20. LXXV, Ephesus, Coemeterium of the Seven Sleepers, burial chamber				

Of course, there are still many gaps in the list. But, even so, a few definite points can now be made.

Both sand and vegetable fibres are used as plaster additives, occasionally both together and sometimes separately according to the layer or only one and not the other. If the Cappadocian samples contain sand, they often include volcanic minerals, especially lava and pumice stone. These plasters become particularly hard as a result. This may have been a matter of experience, i. e., people must have realised the cement-like effect of lava. Sample 19 from Ephesus, coming from a non-volcanic area, also appears to have contained lava. The sand added to the bottom plaster layers is coarser than that in the top ones, but multi-layer plasters have so far only been found in Ephesus, among all the samples from Asia Minor. In Cappadocia, Lycaonia and Trebizond only single-layer painting plasters appear to have been used virtually throughout. These were, of course, smoothed to a very great extent and so display a denser consistency on the surface. In the absence of exact microscopical analyses we might occasionally get the impression that this smooth, dense upper portion of the plaster was, in fact, a painting plaster or opsis.

The fact that in most paintings no bottom plaster, but only a painting plaster was used might be due to their all being cave paintings, where the smoothed rock in itself provided a suitable plaster-like support for the painting plaster. Occasionally the artists actually dispensed with a painting plaster altogether and merely coated the smoothed stone with lime or casein, on which the painting was applied in secco. This occurs in particular in Chapels 2a, 21, 28 and 33 in Göreme and also at Çavuşin.

Even after making these fresh analyses we must be careful to avoid generalisation. But there do seem to be signs that single-layer painting plasters were an established feature of Byzantine painting, at least from the 9th century onwards. Plasters with two or more layers probably came into vogue again in the post-Byzantine era, in conjunction with the Athos book. When coming to this conclusion on the basis of our own particular study material, we must bear in mind that our samples only reflect what was going on in Asia Minor and, moreover, only illustrate a certain type of painting — i. e., wall paintings in caves. Circumstances might have been quite different in larger churches built above the ground.

But even the paintings in Trebizond, which have nothing else in common with the work done in the interior of Asia Minor, reveal the very same thing. We could learn more about this subject by examining other paint samples from Asia Minor, not coming from cave churches.

One striking fact remains, however, and it encourages us to believe in the theory we have stated above — i. e., all the Macedonian wall paintings have just a single layer of painting plaster too. It can range from 2 to 120 mm to allow for irregularities in the wall. Only the paintings of Vodoča form an exception to this rule, with their bottom plaster 10—14 mm thick and a painting plaster of about 5 mm²⁸⁴. We have no analytical results

from Greece. There is therefore an indication that single-layer painting plasters were in widespread use and were perhaps actually the dominant type in Byzantine painting.

As regards the various substances added to the plaster, the points emerging from the Ephesus analyses apply here too. Additives were freely used. Sand of many different kinds and in varying proportions and vegetable additives, such as straw, tow, vegetable fibres and plant stems, also pigs' bristles and calves' hair were included. If we had a wide enough range of experimental material we might find that individual workshop practices were based on local geographical conditions.

The most surprising feature of these recent analyses is, however, the extraordinarily frequent use made of gypsum instead of lime as a binding medium in the plaster. Among the Cappadocian samples, only No. 5 from the Barbara Kilise in Soğanlı dere definitely contained lime mortar, i. e., calcium oxide with only a small proportion of sulphuric acid anhydride. The other plasters contain a fairly considerable amount of this anhydride. The quantitative analyses now going on will give a more exact answer to this problem. But in many samples even the micro-analytical findings appear to decide the issue.

Some of the older analyses will subsequently be viewed with caution. The sulphur trioxide content of the plaster might have been overlooked all too easily. For example, the plaster analyses from the Hagia Sophia at Ochrid²⁸⁵ known to me nowhere reveal the presence of sulphur trioxide in addition to the calcium oxide and, in view of the very high magnesium oxide contents found (up to 10.72 %), it cannot very well be missing altogether. At least traces of SO₃ of about 0.1 to 0.3 % should have been present, as in the best Roman lime stuccos made from marble²⁸⁶.

Interesting in this connection is the use of gypsum even in ancient times, for example, in the bottom plaster layer of Greek wall paintings in Babylon from the summer residence of Nebuchadnezzar, dating back to the Diadochi period about 300 B.C.²⁸⁷. Gypsum grounds also occur in Egyptian paintings²⁸⁸.

An astonishing fact is that only one of the samples from Cappadocia and Lycaonia that were studied here clearly reveals a regular lime plaster (sample 5 from the Barbara Kilise in Soğanlı dere). We would expect a more balanced ratio between lime and gypsum plasters. In the interior of Asia Minor lime appears to have been harder to come by than gypsum. The frequent use of gypsum would thus seem to be a local tradition and need not necessarily have been the general practice in Byzantine wall painting. Only analyses of material from outside Asia Minor can help us to decide about this. The time has also come to study painting plasters from the capital city itself.

There is yet another fixed opinion that people have held about the techniques used in Byzantine wall painting. According to this, the colours were, in principle, applied to damp lime mortar, i. e., it was fresco painting in the true sense and the pigments were lime-bound by the skin which formed. This technique is described in the Athos book²⁸⁹.

The frequent use of gypsum plasters, which very soon harden and become rigid, naturally means that painting on wet plaster was impossible. There can be no question

of lime binding here, as gypsum mortar does not set. It hardens and does not form a skin. In all cases where gypsum plaster can be detected, the painting was definitely done in secco. Here too analyses have revealed an organic binding medium that could be casein or size. The decision in individual cases depends on whether we can detect phosphorus, which is a characteristic component of casein. We hope that quantitative analyses will take us further in this matter and at least enable us to decide in a few cases whether casein or size was used. It can be seen that our various theories in the Catalogue have been largely corroborated by the analyses. Until more exact results become available, we can, I feel, assume that size was used instead of casein in instances where considerable darkening and dirtying of the painting appears to have occurred.

Once again the exception is sample 5, which — in keeping with its lime plaster — has shown itself to be a true fresco, i. e., a painting on a wet lime plaster.

But lime and, above all, casein and size were not by any means the only binding media used in Byzantine wall painting. This is shown by sample 2 from Chapel 6a in Göreme, in which the white high-lights have been painted with an organic, nitrogen-free binding medium. This rules out casein or size. There is every reason to suspect that it was a vegetable gum emulsion.

Our final result with reference to the binding media used in the painting process is similar to the result we reached when studying the plasters, i. e., out of the twenty samples examined so far, only one is a definite instance of lime-bound painting in the true sense of the Athos book. In all the others organic binding media were used in a wide variety of forms for application of the pigments in secco — on a dry layer of painting plaster.

The theory we put forward when examining the written sources has been confirmed and corroborated by the physical and chemical analyses. Wall painting on a wet lime plaster, the only form advocated by the Athos book, was, in fact, rare in the Byzantine era. Quite a number of very varied plaster and secco painting techniques were all practised then and they were in the majority. The "Athos method" was therefore a restricted technique that had been specially selected — whether this was based on experience or done at random has still to be decided. It was no doubt the one used in the post-Byzantine era to replace the true Byzantine methods of wall painting with all their complex and wide-ranging possibilities.

A discovery of this kind helps us to some extent to determine the age of the relevant paragraphs in the Painters' Guide from Mount Athos. The picture we get from the manuscripts handed down to us is probably a correct one. Although the instructions in the handbook include older methods and in part actually draw upon old sources, they nevertheless give a standardised picture that does not really apply to Byzantine art, but merely to the post-Byzantine era. In the Byzantine period there must have been a great variety of different painters' guides describing the wide range of technical methods used. Otherwise it would be inconceivable that different secco techniques could have been in

vogue in the same period around 920/30 — note the result for sample 2 from Chapel 6a in Göreme. In the old Tokalı Kilise, for example, we have secco painting with casein and alongside it in Chapel 6a, probably originating from a related workshop, a mixed secco technique using casein and gum emulsion. The Painters' Guide ignored all these different technical possibilities, perhaps because it had already come under western influence, and only recommended painting on a wet lime plaster, which in at least one important artistic province of the Byzantine Empire had only played a very minor role until then.

On the other hand, the very popular secco technique used in Byzantine wall painting has a long history going back to very early times. Painting on a wet plaster was always an artisan process. Painting in the true artistic sense was done in secco. Thus in Pompeii, where the plain-coloured wall areas were bound with lime, the actual painting on them was applied in secco with organic binding media. This has definitely been shown by the investigations of Raehlmann²⁹⁰. It is only natural that in this matter too Byzantine painting should have carried on and preserved the heritage of Antique art. Only in the post-Byzantine era did the widely assorted technical methods seen in the wall paintings of Rome and the Late Antique period and of Byzantium assume a hard and rigid form. The selection of painting on a damp lime plaster, which was unusual up to that time, from among the many possible wall painting techniques is hardly conceivable without western influence. The plentiful use of Romance loan-words in the text of the Painters' Guide should have been interpreted along these lines long ago. Also in the partial smoothing of individual portions of the painting area we can surely see a reminder of the western Renaissance practice of dividing the work into daily quotas, as in buon fresco.

We must resign ourselves to the fact that the most important old Byzantine texts that could have explained the various wall painting techniques have long since vanished. Only remnants of these have been preserved in the Athos book and its prototypes and they are meagre and pathetic and, worse still, misleading. What we need is a precise and modern method of analysis²⁹¹. This alone can provide an answer to our problem.

NOTES

CAPPADOCIA AND LYCAONIA — THE BEGINNINGS (pp. 15—17)

- ¹ G. Millet, Les iconoclastes et la croix, à propos d'une inscription de Cappadoce, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 34 (1910).
- ² Je II. 1, 105—111.
- ³ Je I. 2, 504—510.
- ⁴ Jerphanion (II. 1, 206 ff., 229 to 234, and II. 2, 414) actually considered the decoration of the Church of Mavruca, now Güzelöz, to be pre-iconoclastic. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne has visited the church, but for the present does not seem prepared to comment on this rather risky dating (Laf NN 136). Swoboda, however, ascribed it to the second third of the 10th century (123).
- ⁵ B. Z. 50 (1957), 552.
- ⁶ Hinted at very cautiously by Swoboda on p. 37 f.
- ⁷ A. Grabar, Martyrium II, 278 ff., and L'iconoclasme byzantin, Paris 1957, 153.
- ⁸ See also Restle, Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit, Athens 1964, 113—117.
- ⁹ Laf NN 137, for example.
- ¹⁰ Je II. 2, 412—414.
- ¹¹ Cf. the discussions in the Catalogue of Paintings (Nos. 3 and 43).
- ¹² Cf. Migne PG 40, 337: Εὐχομένη δὲ ταύτη φαίνεται ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τὸ σημεῖον ὃ δὴ Χριστιανοὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι τε πέφυκε καὶ ἐπιγράφεσθαι. σύμβολον, οἶμαι. τοῦ πάθους ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἐξεδέχeto.
- ¹³ Theophanes (ed. De Boor), 439—440, and Acta Sanctorum sept. V, 275—276; Kedren I, 850; Zonaras XV, 8.
- ¹⁴ A. M. Schneider, Das Martyrion der Hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel, B. Z. 42 (1943/49), 178—185; most recently of all, Rudolf Naumann — Hans Belting, Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken, Istanbul Forschungen 25, Berlin 1966, cf. Theophanes (ed. De Boor), 439—440.
- ¹⁵ Sessio IV and VI, Mansi XIII, 16 f. and 308 f.
- ¹⁶ Anatolian Studies 7 (1957), 159—161: The comparisons made by him (*ibid.* 156, Note 7, and 157, Note 8), also the final sentence in the paper, are typical in this respect.
- ¹⁷ Illusts. in Gough, Anatolian Studies 7 (1957), pl. X a and b, XI a and XIII a.
- ¹⁸ Cf. the sequence and naming of layers in the Catalogue, No. 10.
- ¹⁹ Illust. Gough *op. cit.*, pl. XIII a.
- ²⁰ Swoboda 38 f. and 41 f.
- ²¹ K. Weitzmann, Islamische und koptische Einflüsse in einer Sinai-Handschrift des Johannes Klimakos, Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Publication marking the 75th birthday of Ernst Kühnel on 26. 10. 1957, Berlin 1959, 297 ff., esp. 306 f.
- ²² Dionysiu 1, fol. 1r and 60r, Weitzmann Illusts. 339 and 338.
- ²³ Dionysiu 2, Weitzmann Illust. 415.
- ²⁴ Dionysiu 21, fol. 111r, Weitzmann Illust. 324.
- ²⁵ Patm. 70, Weitzmann Illust. 433; Lit. in Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 332.
- ²⁶ Paris. gr. 1476, fol. 6r, Weitzmann Illust. 274.
- ²⁷ Lond., Brit. Mus. Cod. Harley 5787, Weitzmann Illust. 289.
- ²⁸ Athens, Nat. Lib. 211, Weitzmann Illust. 380. For dating and placing (with Lit. in the Note) cf. Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 350.
- ²⁹ Even later if we accept Lazarev's late dating of the Patm. 70 to the third quarter of the 11th century. Cf. also the comments in Swoboda 41, esp. Note 11.
A similar tendency to produce fat, doughy, swollen forms can, of course, be seen in architecture. In the absence of firm datings and pending a study on the subject in a Freiburg thesis by T. Ulbert, who has been working under Prof. Kollwitz, we can only give a general indication here. Some years ago in a review in the B. Z. 49 (1956), 517 f., F. W. Deichmann opposed an early dating of the architectural forms in the Cumanin Camii at Antalya. I am beginning to wonder if the 8th century, suggested by Deichmann, is still too early. We must await more detailed research on the subject.
- ³⁰ E. Coche de la Ferté, Décors en Céramique Byzantine au Musée du Louvre, Cahiers archéologiques 9 (1957), 187—217, esp. 198—200 and Illusts. a and b on p. 199.

THE EARLY MACEDONIAN FRESCOES (pp. 17—30)

- ³¹ Je II. 2, 415.
- ³² Budde 11 and 31, No. 37.
- ³³ Swoboda 123.
- ³⁴ The reading of the middle part is uncertain; Jerphanion's addition (II. 1, 24) seems more than doubtful. The letter read as E by Jerphanion in ΑΙΕΡΑΝΤΟΝ is very probably an O. The letter thought to be an A has only a curved stem on the right, which would be quite exceptional for

an A, judging by all the inscriptions in the church. I freely admit that I can see no solution. One could read OPON, but there is no sense in this. It seems to me superfluous to change the final word from ΤΟΠΙΟΝ to ΤΥΠΙΟΝ as suggested by Jerphanion, as I suspect this is a paraphrase of Genesis 28, 7 (Ὁς φοβερὸς ὁ τόπος οὗτος). Jerphanion has already put B instead of P. The meaning of the inscription would be roughly as

follows: the image is small and insignificant; reverence befits it; honour this place.

- ³⁵ For Patmensis 171, cf. Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 289 with Notes, p. 501 f.
- ³⁶ Budde probably never saw it before his book came out. It does not seem to offer anything special for iconographers and Swoboda had to refer to old photographs with little detail in them. I must confess that it was only in the course of ten years, after seeing it year after year, that I became increasingly aware of its importance.
- ³⁷ Millet, *Evangile*, cf. Ind.: *Mosaïques et fresques s. v. Cappadoce*, Hemsbey-Klissé, esp. XII.
- ³⁸ D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art*, Penguin (Pelican) Book, A 287, London and Tonbridge 1962, 138, concerning the Paris. gr. 510: "pages of the second type were perhaps done by monks called in from Cappadocia to set the ball of narrative figural art rolling once more."
- ³⁹ Je I. 1, 235: "Telle figure de Qeledjlar évoque la pensée du Psautier ou du Grégoire de Nazianze de Paris, ou du décor de Daphni."
- ⁴⁰ Cf. Note 38.
- ⁴¹ Je II. 2, 418: "ne... descendre plus bas que le début du onzième siècle. Concluons: probablement fin du dixième."
- ⁴² Swoboda 126.
- ⁴³ Vat. gr. 699: C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, Codice Vaticano greco 699. Codices e Vatic. selecti X, Milan 1908. Weitzmann 5.
- ⁴⁴ Cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, 3. Les églises et les monastères, Paris 1953, 364—366; 318—321, A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, Berlin 1936, 65 and 61 f.; J. Kollwitz, *Zur frühmittelalterlichen Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Römische Quartalschrift 42 (1934), 245. There is evidence that the first burial in the Church of the Myrelaion Monastery was in February 923 (cf. Theophanes cont. ed. Bonn. 402). It was Theodora, the consort of the Emperor. For the Lips Monastery see T. Macridy, A. H. S. Megaw, C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), 249—315.
- ⁴⁵ The dating of the two buildings in question, the Kalender and the Gül Camii, to the post-iconoclastic era by Kollwitz (*op. cit.* 239) is based, amongst other things, on the argument that the Gül Camii, which belonged to the Monastery of St. Theodosia, a martyr during the Iconoclast Controversy, could only have come into existence after this. But it seems that the Church of St. Theodosia was originally a Church of St. Euphemia, so the end of the Iconoclast Controversy cannot be used as a *terminus ante quem non*. Cf., above all, P. J. Pargoire, *Echos d'Orient* 9 (1906), 162—165, and R. Janin, *Les églises et*

les monastères, 134 to 136 and 150—152 (with Literature).

- ⁴⁶ Weitzmann 51—53.
- ⁴⁷ Weitzmann Illust. 349.
- ⁴⁸ for example, Weitzmann Illust. 338 or 341, the draperies of the figure sitting at the head of the table on the left.
- ⁴⁹ Weitzmann Illusts. 352—364. For Literature see Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 277.
- ⁵⁰ N. Kondakov, *Miniatjuri grečeskoj rukopisi psaltyri IX veka iz sobranija A. I. Khludova v. Moskvě*, *Drevnosti, Trudy Moskovskogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva* VII. 3, Moscow 1878; Weitzmann Illusts. 366—371.
- ⁵¹ Weitzmann 53—56.
- ⁵² N. Malickij, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 1 (1927), 49 f.
- ⁵³ A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, Paris 1957, 201 f., 216 and 248.
- ⁵⁴ A. Frolov, *La fin de la querelle iconoclaste et la date des plus anciens psautiers grecs à illustrations marginales*, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1963, 201—223. In the same paper the author, opposing the view held hitherto, tried to move the date of origin of the psalter about 40 years further back in the 9th century, i. e., to the years between 815 and 837. Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin*, Paris 1957, 233) advocated a date between 858 and 868. He thought that Bishop Asbestos, a friend of Photius and known to be a painter, was the artist. Since then a number of more recent investigations have settled the matter provisionally. The psalter probably came into existence between 843 and 850 within the sphere of the Patriarchate. Cf. I. Sevcenko, *The antiiconoclastic poem in the Pantocrator Psalter*, *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965), 39—60; A. Grabar, *Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du IX^e siècle*, *ibid.* 61—82, and S. Dufrenne, *Une illustration "historique" inconnue du psautier du Mont-Athos*, *Pantocrator* No. 61, *ibid.* 83—95. So the attempt to put it later on, into the 11th century (L. Grondijs, *La datation des psautiers byzantins et en particulier du psautier Cloudoff*, *Byzantion* 25—27 [1955—1957], 159—161), can finally be regarded as erroneous. Cf. lastly S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen-âge*, *Pantocrator* 61, Paris. grec 20, British Museum 40731, Paris 1966.
- ⁵⁵ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Athens 1952, Pl. 78; A. Vasilev, *L'entrée triomphale de l'Empereur Justinien II à Thessalonique en 688*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (Miscellanea G. de Jerphanion) 1947, 355—368; J. D. Breckenridge, *The "Long Siege" of Thessalonica: Its Date and Iconography*, B. Z. 48 (1955), 116—122.
- ⁵⁶ Parisinus graecus 923. Weitzmann Illusts. 539 to 545; K. Weitzmann, *Islamische und koptische Einflüsse in einer Sinai-Handschrift des Johannes Klimakos*, *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst*.

Publication marking the 75th birthday of Ernst Kühnel on 26. 10. 1957, Berlin 1959, 297 ff.

- ⁵⁷ Thierry 181; Lafontaine-Dosogne, B. Z. 58 (1965), 135; Laf NN 159.
- ⁵⁸ Weitzmann Illusts. 399—400; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 349 and Illusts. Scholars are in agreement about dating it to the beginning of the 10th century, but not about its location. Weitzmann (61—63), in conjunction with the Petropolitanus 21 (cf. the following Note), ascribes the manuscript to eastern Asia Minor, more specifically Trebizond. Lazarev (I, 79, 299) and Xynopoulos (*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 1942—1944, 14 f.), after comparison with the Paris Gregory (Paris. gr. 510), have moved it to the capital.
- ⁵⁹ Weitzmann 59, Illusts. 392—396; Lazarev I, 81. Weitzmann's placing of the manuscript in Trebizond, where it was acquired, is not generally accepted. G. Millet (*Millet, Evangile pass.*, cf. *Répertoire des Monuments III. Miniatures s. v. Saint-Pétersbourg* Gr. 21, esp. 557 f.) compared it with the paintings in the Kılıçlar Kilise and other chapels in Göreme and assigned it to Cappadocia. He was followed by C. R. Morey (*Notes on East Christian Miniatures*, *Art Bulletin* 11 [1929], 53). More recently thoughts have been turning rather in the direction of a second-rate workshop in Constantinople. Cf. Swoboda 57, Note 70. A manuscript from the Garrett Collection in Baltimore also comes within this category. For facture and internal drawing compare, in particular, John, Weitzmann Illust. 378.
- ⁶⁰ Cf. Note 54.
- ⁶¹ E. Weigand, *Zur Datierung der Kappadokischen Höhlenmalereien*, B. Z. 36 (1936), 337—397; 37 (1937), 157—160; G. de Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments*, nouv. sér. 1938, 208—262; M. Hatzidakis, *A propos d'une nouvelle manière de dater les peintures de Cappadoce*, *Byzantion* 14 (1939), 95—113. Only the outbreak of the Second World War and the very superficial knowledge of the monuments that people had, usually at second hand, put an end to this discussion.
- ⁶² Omont or Rice, *Kunst aus Byzanz*, Munich 1959, Pl. 85 and VII.
- ⁶³ Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 332 (further Lit. in this). Weitzmann Illusts. 440—447.
- ⁶⁴ V. Lazarev, *Mosaiki Sofii Kievskoi*, Moscow 1960, 134.
- ⁶⁵ Weitzmann 66—68.
- ⁶⁶ C. Cecchelli — G. Furlani — M. Salni, *The Rabbula Gospels*, Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I, 56, in the Medicaean Laurentian Library, Olten and Lausanne 1959.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Note 56.
- ⁶⁸ Parisinus suppl. gr. 905, e. g., fol. 54 v. Cf. Porcher — Concasty — Astruc, *Byzance et la France médiévale*, Exposition Bibl. Nat. Paris 1958, No. 8, and Illust. pl. III.

- ⁶⁹ Weitzmann Illusts. 325—336. The manuscript is unanimously described as belonging to Asia Minor. According to a note at the foot, it was bought by someone called Eudocia in 959 from a man from Rhodes called Leo. According to Diehl it was already in the Patmos book collection in 1201. But there are differences of opinion about the date. Lazarev (I, 288) has now put it in the 9th century. Weitzmann picked out three different groups, an early one around 700, a later one, which was post-iconoclastic, and a third one from the 11th century, which he termed Italic. Cf. also the Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 289. As regards one important representative of his "Italic" group, the Parisinus graecus 923 (cf. also Note 56, above), Weitzmann cancelled out Italy as the place of origin. Cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die Illustration der Septuaginta*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3. F. 3/4 (1952/53), 105, Note 26, and the paper by Weitzmann, mentioned in Note 56, that was included in the special Kühnel publication. This also means that the placing of the third miniature part of the Patmensis Job 171 in Italy, which does not, in any case, fit in with the history of the manuscript, is no longer valid. Weitzmann himself (p. 50) realised that his comparison with the Vaticanus latinus 10405 (A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1930, Pl. 67) was not satisfactory and qualified it to some extent (Weitzmann 50: "... obgleich der bewegtere Gewandstil von der strengen Linearität der erwähnten italienischen Handschrift etwas abweicht und eine engere Verbindung zu einem byzantinischen Vorbild besteht"). The figures in this Italic manuscript, the Vaticanus latinus 10405, are not only stiff, but have been jumbled together from a great number of heterogeneous Byzantine prototypes (Apostle figures from Ascension pictures, etc.). So in my opinion Weitzmann's proposed dating of the third part of the miniatures in the Patm. 171 to the 11th century is out of the question. For the present there is no argument against dating it to the 9th/10th century.
- ⁷⁰ N. and M. Thierry, *Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour, chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et Anne*, *Monuments Piot* 50 (1958), 105—146.
- ⁷¹ Swoboda 123.
- ⁷² Cf. Notes 56 and 69.
- ⁷³ Erivan, *Matenadaran* No. 2877. Cf. Lydia A. Durnove, *Armenische Miniaturen*, Cologne 1960, 71.
- ⁷⁴ Cf. the following Note.
- ⁷⁵ Milke *Evangelii in San Lazzaro* (Cod. 1144), Venice. Cf. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* (Istanbuler Forschungen 4), Bamberg 1933, 4—8 and Pl. III, 8 and 9. For the date see also S.

Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, Harvard Univ. Press, 1947, 115, and Lydia A. Durnove, Armenische Miniaturen, Cologne 1960, 40.

⁷⁶ Cf. finally K. Weitzmann, Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, No. 107, Cologne and Opladen 1963, an excellent summary of the research done. His basic paper containing individual analyses is: Der Pariser Psalter MS. Grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance, Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 1929, 178—194.

⁷⁷ Caps of hair like these are even to be found here and there in the Marcianus graecus 538 in Venice, for example, in the picture of Job's three friends, Weitzmann Illust. 348.

⁷⁸ Athens, National Library Cod. 210. Cf. Note 58.

⁷⁹ Vaticanus gr. 1522; Weitzmann Illusts. 21—27.

⁸⁰ Illusts. in C. R. Morey, Notes on East Christian Miniatures, Art Bulletin 11 (1929), 5—103, Figs. 63, 65, 91 and 96.

⁸¹ Cf. Note 79.

FRESCOES OF THE MAIN MACEDONIAN PERIOD (pp. 30—42)

⁸² Henri Grégoire, Notes épigraphiques VII, Byzantion 8 (1933), 49 ff.

⁸³ Je I. 2, 546 f.

⁸⁴ Laf NN 129: "Celui-ci m'est apparu comme une véritable révélation."

⁸⁵ Cf. the classic description of this process given in O. Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, London 1948, 22—26 and 30—35.

⁸⁶ In connection with this new type of composition, which differs from the old Mission of the Apostles in the Kılıçlar Kilise, cf. the ivory in the Louvre (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 100; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 87) and Codex Petropolitanus 21.

⁸⁷ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1931, II, No. 34; F. Dölger, Die Entwicklung der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur und die Datierung der Kaiserdarstellungen in der byzantinischen Kleinkunst. Studies presented to D. M. Robinson II (1953), 1004, reprinted in F. Dölger, Byzantinische Diplomatie, Ettal 1956, 150 f.

⁸⁸ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann *op. cit.* II, No. 35.

⁸⁹ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann *op. cit.* II, No. 32; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 70.

⁹⁰ An ivory triptych in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann *op. cit.* II, No. 31; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 69) and another in the British Museum, London (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann *op. cit.* II, No. 38; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 79).

⁹¹ No. 702.1884, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Goldschmidt-Weitzmann *op. cit.* II, No. 51.

⁹² For the views of Swoboda on the Romanus Group as a whole, its internal arrangement and also recent research, see 53 f. and 56.

⁹³ K. Weitzmann Illusts. 211 f.; Colour Plate 1 bet. pp. 6 and 7 in K. Weitzmann, Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance, Cologne and Opladen 1963.

⁹⁴ Cf. Note 59.

⁹⁵ Weitzmann Illust. 199.

⁹⁶ Weitzmann Illusts. 83—84. The Codex is, moreover, dated to the year 964.

⁹⁷ Cf. V. Lazarev, Les procédés de la stylisation linéaire dans la peinture byzantine des X—XIII siècles et leurs sources. XXV^e Congrès international des Orientalistes. Conférences présentées par la délégation de l'URSS, Moscow 1960. Cf. also Swoboda 56—58.

⁹⁸ See also Swoboda 51 and Note 33 with Lit.

⁹⁹ The various opinions about the date of these Angels are dealt with briefly in D. T. Rice — M. Hirmer, Kunst aus Byzanz 60 f., Nos. 88/89. The possible time margin has been indicated by Cyril Mango: Documentary Evidence on the Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia, B. Z. 47 (1954), 395—402. For the most recent results see C. Mango — E. J. W. Hawkins, The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Report on work carried out in 1964, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 19 (1965), 113—152. According to this the Madonna and Child are from the 2nd half of the 9th century and the Angels must be contemporaneous.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Note 59. Also Lazarev 81; K. Weitzmann, New Testament Studies 161 and special publication for H. R. Hahnloser, Basle-Stuttgart 1961, 247 f.

¹⁰¹ Istanbul, Archaeological Museum No. 4207, Illust. in D. T. Rice — M. Hirmer, Kunst aus Byzanz, No. 148. Quite wrongly dated by Rice to the 11th century, although he makes a comparison with the main pieces of the Romanus Group and quotes as evidence in support of his late dating the relief of the Madonna, No. 3914, in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Rice — Hirmer Illust. No. 142), which has just as little connection with the Emperor fragment as with the Utrecht ivory of Mary (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 46; Rice-Hirmer No. 143), which also belongs to the 10th century.

¹⁰² Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection D. O. 47.11, formerly Stroganoff Collection; Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 75; J. Thacher, The Dumbarton Oaks Collection Handbook, Washington 1955, No. 233; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 90.

¹⁰³ They are closely connected with the ivory of the Coronation of Constantine VII in the Moscow Museum of Art (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 35), and less closely with the central group

including the Romanus panel (cf. Note 87) and the Harbaville Triptych (cf. Note 89).

¹⁰⁴ Je II. 2, 418 f.; Budde 14; Laf NN 130.

¹⁰⁵ Je I. 2, 546 f.

¹⁰⁶ Laf NN 130: "Je ne vois pas pour quelle raison il (sc. Çavuşin) serait étroitement inspiré de celui de Tokalı Kilise, ainsi que le soutient Jerphanion... mais les arguments avancés en faveur de l'antériorité de Tokalı Kilise ne me paraissent pas absolument convaincants. Les fresques de Çavuş In me semblent proches encore des oeuvres du IX^e siècle... Il faut se garder d'attribuer systématiquement une date plus ancienne au décor le plus beau."

¹⁰⁷ Swoboda 125.

¹⁰⁸ B. Z. 52 (1959), 401. Budde's dating to the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, based on an early opinion expressed by Jerphanion as a result of the prothesis inscription (cf. the Catalogue), does not require further consideration. (Budde 14: "Eine vollständig erhaltene Inschrift auf dem Bema [sic!] nennt wahrscheinlich den Kaiser Nikephoros als Stifter.") Jerphanion himself put an end to speculations of that kind: "Le Nicéphore nommé dans le texte, sans aucun titre impérial, est une personne privée." (La date des plus récentes peintures de Toquale Kilissé en Cappadoce, La voix des monuments, nouv. série, Rome — Paris, 210, and Je I. 2, 309.)

¹⁰⁹ London, Victoria and Albert Museum No. 702.1884. Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 51; Rice, Kunst aus Byzanz, Pl. and No. 106.

¹¹⁰ London, British Museum 1923 — 12 — 5, Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 38. Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 79; Rice-Hirmer, Nos. 104/105.

¹¹¹ Berlin, Ehem. Staatliche Museen, Sculpture Section — Early Christ. and Byz. Coll. 1578; Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 72; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 80.

¹¹² K. Weitzmann, Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, No. 107, Cologne and Opladen 1963, 42—46.

¹¹³ London, British Museum Cod. Add. 22506. Cf. Weitzmann *op. cit.* 45 and Illust. 45.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the chapter on Wall Painting Techniques.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Note 58. One of the forerunners of this style is a manuscript from the Garrett Collection in Baltimore. See also the Evangelists in Weitzmann, Illusts. 374 ff.

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¹²⁰ Smirnov 1895, published by Pridik in Journal des Ministeriums für Volksaufklärung 328 (1900), 18—36; H. Grégoire, Rapport 103; Jerphanion, Inscriptions byzantines de la région d'Urgub en Cappadoce, Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth 6 (1913), 382—385. For discussion see Je II. 1, 308—310.

¹²⁷ A scene after the Proof of the Virgin in the Protevangel of James, 16, 2: "And Joseph took

¹¹⁶ Vat. gr. 749; Weitzmann Illusts. 523—535, especially 535 in the picture of Job to whom the glory of God appears.

¹¹⁷ Weitzmann Illust. 28.

¹¹⁸ Ven. Marc. gr. 538 (anno 905/6), fol. 27r; Weitzmann Illust. 349.

¹¹⁹ Vat. gr. 1522, beginning of St. Luke's Gospel; Weitzmann Illust. 28.

¹²⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 510. Illusts. in Rice-Hirmer: Pl. I (title page) and Pl. VII (bet. illusts. 84 and 85).

¹²¹ Cf. Note 63.

¹²² Cf. the similar parts in the Barbara Kilise in Soğanlı dere and in the Kuşluk of Kılıçlar (Chap. 33 in Göreme), a more developed and complicated form of the simple quatrefoil flower motif on pilaster capitals at El Nazar (Göreme, Chap. 1) and on the vault beam of Chap. 4a in Göreme, already appearing, but in a halved version, in the Patmensis 33 from 941 (cf. M. H. Frantz, Byzantine Illumination Ornament, Art Bulletin 15 [1934], 43—76, Pl. 15, No. 1). Parallel examples can be seen in Patm. 70 (Weitzmann Illust. 434), Vat. Cod. Reg. gr. 29 (Weitzmann Illust. 35). Similar forms of the quatrefoil motif, enclosed in squares or lozenges, also occur in Patm. 72 (Weitzmann Illust. 295), Patm. 24 (Weitzmann Illust. 299) and the Paris. Coislin 195 (Weitzmann 58). The different variants and ramifications of this ornament would fill a chapter. The characteristically augmented form used in Chapel 16 in Göreme, Chapel 33 and the Barbara Kilise in Soğanlı dere, however, appears to be something special, occurring only in the first half of the 11th century — I am not familiar with it in book illumination.

¹²³ Laf NN 148 f.: end of 10th century; ditto, B. Z. 58 (1965), 135: 10th century in general (Macedonian Renaissance).

¹²⁴ Cf. Note 43.

¹²⁵ In both churches the inscriptions are very carefully set on lines and in the case of longer texts in a block of lettering. In the Karağedik Kilise the base lines were actually scratched on in advance. In the Bahatın Samanlıği Kilise the lines of lettering were painted on free hand, but with just the same precision. It need hardly be said that the forms of the letters bear more than just a resemblance to one another.

Mary unto him and went forth into his house filled with rejoicing and praise for the Lord God of Israel." (E. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I, Tübingen, 3rd ed. 1959, 286.)

¹²⁸ Paris, gr. 923, esp. fol. 15r. Illust. in Weitzmann, Die Illustration der Septuaginta, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3. Folge 3/4 (1952/53), 112 (Illust. 16).

- ¹²⁹ Vat. gr. 1613. P. Franchi de Cavalieri, *Il Menologio di Basilio II. Codices e Vaticanis selecti* 8, Turin 1907. For the Literature see Swoboda 59 ff., esp. Note 79.
- ¹³⁰ Par. gr. Coislinus 79. Omont 61—64, Rice—Hirmer Pl. 163 and XXII. Lit. in Swoboda 92.
- ¹³¹ Cf. Note 129. For the date see in particular S. Der Nersessian, Remarks on the date of the Menologion and Psalter written for Basil II, *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41), 104 ff.
- ¹³² Cf. Note 58.
- ¹³³ Je II. 1, 310: "Etant donné le chiffre de l'indiction et le règne impérial, la date se complétait par l'un des deux nombres 19 ou 20. Nous avons noté sur place, en 1927, que le premier paraissait mériter la préférence: nous l'admettons comme probable." He later stressed the connection with the new Tokalı Kilise (IV and for him VI). (Je II. 2, 419 f.)
- ¹³⁴ Venice, Marcianus graecus Z 17, fol. Bv. Weitzmann Illusts. 219 f. and Rice—Hirmer Pl. 127. The large dedicatory picture shows the Emperor with a sword, a spear (handed over by the Archangel Michael) and a crown (placed on his head by Gabriel — a second crown is being handed down from the cloud segment by Christ) and standing on a suppedaneum in the middle of the Soldier Saints (George, Procopius, Mercury, St. Theodore Tyro, Demetrius and Theodore Stratelates) with grandees prostrating themselves in homage before him. The manuscript has been linked as a result with the victory over the Bulgars in 1014 and has consequently been dated to the years between 1014/15 and 1020. See also S. Der Nersessian *op. cit.*, *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41), 115, and Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 280.
- ¹³⁵ Cf. Note 129.
- ¹³⁶ Je II. 2, 421.
- ¹³⁷ Compare the circumspect comments of an investigator as competent as Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne on this point in a review of the work by Thierry about the paintings in the Peristrema valley, B. Z. (1965), 135, where she advocates caution with regard to Madame Thierry's liking for everything "Oriental" and, moreover, always makes a point of putting the word "Oriental" in inverted commas.
- ¹³⁸ Vat. gr. 1613, see Note 129. Cf. also heads, e. g., that of the first of the Magi on p. 272 (by the painter Simeon Blachernites) or Saint Abercius on p. 129, etc.
- ¹³⁹ Oxford, Bodleiana MS. Cromwell 16, fol. 30v. Illusts. in Otto Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*. Bodleian Picture Book 8, Oxford 1952, Illusts. 6 and 9c.
- ¹⁴⁰ Oxford, Bodleiana MS. Auct. T infra 2. 7 (S. C. 29238), lectionary. Illust. in Otto Pächt *op. cit.*, 9d.
- ¹⁴¹ Jerphanion thought (II. 1, 335), in spite of the divergent view of Grégoire (Rapport . . . , Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 33 [1909], 96), anticipating my own assessment, that he ought to support the idea that both parts of the decoration formed a single whole and were contemporaneous. Among more recent investigators, no-one has taken exception to the fact that the inscription and the Gospel scenes on the barrel vault do not coincide.
- ¹⁴² Cf. the Apostle heads in the manuscript MS. Auct. T infra 2. 7 (S. C. 29238) in the Bodleiana in Oxford. Illust. in O. Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*. Bodleian Picture Book No. 8, Oxford 1952, 9d.
- ¹⁴³ Istanbul, Archaeological Museum No. 3914. Rice—Hirmer Pl. 142.
- ¹⁴⁴ Above all, a plaque in Sta. Maria in Porto, Ravenna (cf. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 607, Illust. 516), and specimens in San Marco in Venice (O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice*, Washington 1960, 121 and 123 ff.), also further examples.
- ¹⁴⁵ Budde 22.
- ¹⁴⁶ L. Budde, *Die Johanneskirche von Göreme*, *Pantheon* 19 (1961), 270.
- ¹⁴⁷ Budde *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁴⁸ Cf., for example, the head of a Saint Peter in an Oxford manuscript, Bodleiana MS. Canon. Gr. 110. Illust. in Otto Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*. Bodleian Picture Book No. 8, Oxford 1952, Illust. 9a. Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 302.
- ¹⁴⁹ Je II. 1, 204.
- ¹⁵⁰ Je II. 1, 188.
- ¹⁵¹ Laf NN 132.
- ¹⁵² Swoboda 125 f.
- ¹⁵³ Je II. 1, 204.
- ¹⁵⁴ Weitzmann Illust. 291. Cf. also similarities in the drawing of Luke on fol. 86v in the Vienna Suppl. gr. 128.
- ¹⁵⁵ Weitzmann Illusts. 295—296.
- ¹⁵⁶ Weitzmann Illust. 297.
- ¹⁵⁷ Athos, Stavronikita No. 43; fol. 10v here; Weitzmann Illust. 168.
- ¹⁵⁸ Oxford, Bodleiana MS. Canon. Gr. 103. Athens Catalogue 347 (with Illust.); O. Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*, Oxford 1952, Illust. 7.
- ¹⁵⁹ Paris. Coislin 79, fol. 2v; Rice—Hirmer Illusts.: Pl. 163 and XXII. Jean Porcher — Louise Concasty — Charles Astruc, *Byzance et la France médiévale*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1958, No. 29; Swoboda 92. The manuscript appears to have been written for Michael VI (1056—1057) and to have had the four title pictures added under Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078—1081).
- ¹⁶⁰ See also G. P. Schiemenz, *Zur politischen Zugehörigkeit des Gebietes um Sobesos und Zoropassos in den Jahren um 1200*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 14 (1965), 207—238. For discussion cf. F. Dölger — A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz*, Berne 1952, 84 and Note 319.
- ¹⁶¹ Laf NN 132, Swoboda 125 f.

¹⁶² Je II. 2.

¹⁶³ Budde 21.

¹⁶⁴ One of the most typical examples of this is to be found in the history of the village of Sille, only a few kilometres away from the Seljuk residence of Konya, with its churches and Christian population, actually including among its leaders a Comnene prince in the service of the Seljuks, who held a position of honour. This was the Emir Michael, a descendant of John Comnenus (his tombstone is now in the Inscriptions Museum at Konya, exhibit No. 99; cf. Steret, *An epigraphical journey*, Papers of the American School in Athens II, 1883, No. 229; F. Cumont, *Note sur une inscription d'Iconium*, B. Z. 4 [1895], 99; P. Wittek, *L'épithaphe d'un Comnène à Konya*, *Byzantion* 10 [1935], 505—515, and also in *Encore l'épithaphe d'un Comnène à Konya*, *Byzantion* 12 [1937], 207—211; or else he was Abraham, son of Nicholas, who was also in the service of the Seljuks and died after being seriously wounded. (His tombstone from Sille is also in the Inscriptions Museum at Konya, exhibit No. 95. Faulty transcriptions: E. Pridik, *Journal des Ministeriums für Volksaufklärung* 328 [1900], April, p. 23 f., facsimile *ibid.* after p. 36; N. Bees, *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sin. Gr. 508* [1976] und die Maria-Spiläotissa-Klosterkirche bei Sille, Lykaonien, Berlin 1922, 77 f.) Cf. also Marcel Beck in: *Akten des XI. Internat. Byz. Kongresses*, Munich 1958, 43—47. A fine description by the same author appears in: *Anatolien*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1956, 146 f.

¹⁶⁵ Laf NN 132; Swoboda 126.

¹⁶⁶ B. Z. 52 (1959), 401. I expressed that view in a lecture at the University of Hamburg in December 1960. Only in 1963 did Otto Demus show me that it was perfectly possible to interpret the material I had seen in a different way and I have checked up on this several times in the past few years on the actual site.

¹⁶⁷ Swoboda 126.

¹⁶⁸ In general, Otto Demus has supported me here — as recently as March 1966. He rejected the idea that the Kılıçlar Kilise should be dated after Çavuşin for the reasons just stated.

¹⁶⁹ Swoboda 126.

¹⁷⁰ Athens, National Library No. 2645, e. g., fol. 93v (Mark) and, in particular, fol. 166v (Christ Blessing). Cf. Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 338.

¹⁷¹ Oxford, Bodleiana MS. Auct. T infra 2. 7 (S. C. 29238), fol. 1v. Illust. in O. Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*, Oxford 1952, 9e.

¹⁷² Vaticanus gr. 1613. Cf. Note 129.

¹⁷³ Vaticanus gr. 1613, p. 272, a picture by Master Simeon Blachernites. Weitzmann Illust. 225. For further examples, see British Museum Cod. Add. 19352, fol. 193v, Paris. gr. 74 and Vat. gr. 1156.

¹⁷⁴ For example, the Christ icon in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello), Florence, from the middle of the 12th century (Illust. 169 in Rice—Hirmer) and, before this, the Hodegetria (around 1060; Rice—Hirmer Illust. 155) from the Pammakaristos Church, since 1586 in the Patriarchate.

¹⁷⁵ The earliest example is probably the Christ Child of the Hodegetria in Osios Lukas. Illust.: *Byzantinische Mosaiken in Griechenland*, Munich 1964, Pl. 12.

¹⁷⁶ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, Giessen 1963, Illusts. 1 and 14.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Note 159.

¹⁷⁸ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, 18 and Illusts. 46 f.; Antonije Nikolovski, *Les fresques de Kurbinovo (L'ancien art yougoslave)*, Belgrade 1961. Further Literature in Swoboda 112 and Note 31 *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ A synopsis in O. Demus, *Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei*, *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, Munich 1958, IV, 2, 24—26, and earlier in: *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London 1949, 418 ff. See also Swoboda 108 ff. recently.

¹⁸⁰ In the Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı dere there is just a hint of this for the first time in the outermost Apostle in the left-hand row in the Communion of the Apostles in the apse. It is more unusual in the 11th century, but is common in the 12th. Cf., for example: Athens, National Library No. 7, fol. 243v (Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 285 with Illust.); Athens, Nat. Lib. No. 93, fol. 97v (Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 317 with Illust.); Patmensis No. 274, fol. 93v (Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 315 with Illust.); Iveron 1 (Illust.: F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos*, Munich 1943, Illust. 97); Pantaleimon 2 (F. Dölger *op. cit.*, Illust. 110); Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Cod. 8, fol. 197v, Moses from the Crossing of the Red Sea (Colour Illust., Pl. XXI in Rice—Hirmer). In wall painting, cf., in particular, Ohrid, Hagia Sophia, Communion of the Apostles (R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, Giessen 1963, Illust. 4).

¹⁸¹ Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Cod. 8, fol. 197v (Illust.: Rice—Hirmer, Pl. XXI): in several figures; Oxford, Bodleiana MS. Auct. T infra 1.10 (Misc. 136), fol. 178v: Eve from the Anastasis (Illust. 11 in O. Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*, Oxford 1952), to name only two out of many possible examples.

¹⁸² Swoboda 126.

¹⁸³ G. de Jerphanion, *Le rôle de la Syrie et de l'Asie Mineure dans la formation de l'iconographie*

chrétienne, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* VIII, 5 (1922), 532 ff. A synopsis of these views, together with the relevant literature, is given by O. Demus, *Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei*, *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, Munich 1958, IV, 2, p. 42 f.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Laf NN 137, Note 2. The examples quoted by Madame Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne are: Codex 183 from the Moscow Synod Library, p. 179, cf. Treneff ed., Moscow 1911, Pl. VIII, and

Church of St. Sophia at Ochrid, cf. R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, Giessen 1963, Illust. 28. To these we can add, in particular, the Berlin ivory (Berlin-Dahlem, Ehem. Staatliche Museen, Sculpture Section, Early Christ. and Byz. Coll. No. 574; Goldschmidt-Weitzmann II, No. 10; Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 56 with the most recent literature; Rice-Hirmer Nos. 116 and 117).

¹⁸⁵ Laf NN 133.

THE PROVINCIAL GROUP UNDER ARMENIAN INFLUENCE (pp. 67—74)

¹⁸⁶ Laf N, Laf NN and Thierry.

¹⁸⁷ Rott 271—273.

¹⁸⁸ Je II. 2, 414 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Thierry, *passim*.

¹⁹⁰ Laf NN 171—173. In her review of the Thierry book in B. Z. 58 (1965), 135, Mme. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne briefly states her earlier opinion and believes she can detect an influence coming from Lesser Armenia and Cilicia.

¹⁹¹ Je I. 1, 163.

¹⁹² Je II. 2, 412 ff.; Budde 11 f.; Swoboda 123.

¹⁹³ Swoboda *loc. cit.* Codex 171 of the Monastery of St. John on Patmos, Weitzmann 49 and Illusts. 325—326; Athens Catalogue No. 289.

¹⁹⁴ Matenadaran No. 2374. Excellent colour illustrations now in Durnove, 35, 37, 39 and 41.

¹⁹⁵ See also further examples in Durnove: Evangeliar from the year 1038, Matenadaran No. 6201 (43—49); Matenadaran Evangeliar No. 974 (61 and 63) and even later and more provincial examples.

¹⁹⁶ Matenadaran No. 974, Illusts. Durnove 61 and 63.

¹⁹⁷ Matenadaran No. 7736. 1st half of the 11th century. Illusts. in Durnove, 53, 55, 57 and 59. Cf. Note 75.

¹⁹⁸ Je I. 1, 163, and II. 2, 416; Laf NN 127 f. Note 2.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Note 63.

²⁰⁰ Dionysiu 2, Weitzmann Illusts. 414—416; Dölger, *Mönchsländ Athos*, 170 f. and Illust. 91.

²⁰¹ Je II. 2, 416. The Balık Kilise in Balık dere beside Soğanlı dere, which has been completely destroyed, was closely related to Chapel 11 in Göreme. Cf. Je II. 1, 249—270; II. 2, 416, and Laf N 4 f. Owing to a scratched on date showing the year 1051 (Je II. 1, 269 Inscr. 175) the Balık Kilise had a *terminus ante quem* coming before that of the later paintings in Chapel 11 in Göreme, namely, 1148/49.

²⁰² Laf NN 128, Note. Here a date nearer to that of the Tavşanlı Kilise is advocated, but no reasons are given.

²⁰³ Leipzig, University Library Cod. 6, especially John on fol. 280v (Weitzmann Illusts. 407 to 410).

²⁰⁴ In her latest paper, which has just come to my notice (*L'église aux trois Croix de Güllü dere en*

Cappadoce et le problème du passage du décor "iconoclaste" au décor figuré, *Byzantion* 35 [1965], 175—207), Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne suggests a date around 900 or at the latest in the early 10th century for iconographical reasons and after comparisons of the script. I feel there is no need to argue over a period of 20, or at most 30, years when the subject is such a difficult one and two investigators using different methods have arrived quite independently of each other at such close results in the dating. It reminds me of the famous water tunnel of Hezekiah in Jerusalem under Ophel (2 Kings 20, 20, and 2 Chronicles 32, 30, also the text of the original inscription, now in the Oriental Museum in Istanbul). The groups working towards each other from both ends went only slightly off course.

²⁰⁵ Thierry, *passim*, especially 218 ff.; Laf NN 170.

²⁰⁶ Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum*, *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 21, Munich 1901, 562; Je II. 2, 398; H. Grégoire, *Notes épigraphiques VII, Méliás magistros*, *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 79—88. A synopsis appears in Laf NN 172 f.

²⁰⁷ Laf NN 161.

²⁰⁸ Matenadaran No. 6201; Illust. Durnove 45.

²⁰⁹ Now at Erivan, Matenadaran No. 2374; Durnove Illusts. 26—31. Cf. also Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar*, *Byzantinische Denkmäler I*, Vienna 1891; Weitzmann, *Armenische Buchmalerei* 8—11; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etschmiadzin Gospel*, *Art Bulletin* 15 (1933), 327—360.

²¹⁰ Cf. Durnove Illust. p. 31.

²¹¹ Illust. Durnove *loc. cit.*

²¹² Matenadaran No. 6201. Illusts. in Durnove, 42 to 49.

²¹³ Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery Codex 697; Weitzmann, *Armenische Buchmalerei* 16 f. and Pl. VIII, 26—29.

²¹⁴ The epitaph of a man called Abraham from Silile near Konya from the year 1302 (Konya, Inscriptions Museum, Inv. No. 95) contains 13

of these alphas, compared with three normal ones, which are the only type occurring in the epitaph of the Emir Michael from the year 1297 (cf. also Note 164). This would mean that the new alpha only found its way into Greek monumental lettering around 1300 and so the Pürenli

Seki, the Yılanlı and the Kokar Kilise could not be dated before then.

²¹⁵ He is also the only painter who did not use in his inscriptions the alpha that was in common use since the time of the Pürenli Seki Kilise, but a clear capital alpha of the old type.

WESTERN ASIA MINOR — EPHEBUS AND LATMOS (pp. 77—81)

²¹⁷ Coloured reproduction in A. Grabar, *Le premier art chrétien* (200—395), Paris 1966, Illust. 93.

²¹⁸ *Forschungen in Ephesos IV. 2, Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer*, Baden nr. Vienna 1937, 212 to 222: Die Malereien und Mosaiken der Sieben-schläferkatakomben in Ephesos. In the case of our own particular fresco work, esp. 216 f., with comparable examples.

²¹⁹ A. Musil, *Qusejir 'Amra*, 2 vols., Vienna 1907; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg 1915, 24—28; O. Grabar, *The Painting of the Six Kings at Qusair Amrah*, *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), 185—187; Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Figurendarstellungen im Islam*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 65/66 (1950/51, publ. 1952), *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 323—357. According to M. van Berchem the paintings came into existence under the Omayyad Caliph Walid I (712—715). Following a re-interpretation of the "Kings of the Earth" depicted here, Oleg Grabar suggested that they had been created under Yazid Ibn al Walid II (743—744).

²²⁰ See above p. 17.

²²¹ Coloured reproduction in A. Grabar, *Le premier art chrétien*, Paris 1966, Illust. 234.

²²² A. Grabar, *L'âge d'or de Justinien*, Paris 1966, 73 f.; but in the explanation about Illust. 76, p. 397, showing the lower apse hall, he once again mentions the 5th century.

²²³ Attempts to arrive at a more reliable dating from the layout do not help us very much. The Coemeterium was certainly in existence at the turn of the 5th century (Report by the Deacon Theodosius on his Journey to the Holy Places, ed. Itin. Hierosol. *Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.* 38.5, p. 148c. 36: "in provincia Asia civitatis Epheso, ubi sunt septem fratres dormientes et Catulus Viricanus ad pedes eorum"). The excavators of the site think that Theodosius II founded this holy place during his visit to Ephesus (Georgios Kedrenos, ed. *Bonner Corpus*, I, 602; Güldenpennig, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches*, 386, Note 69). But the scene of the long sleep of the Seven may have been shifted to an existing burial site that was made into a holy place and extended under Theodosius II.

²²⁴ *Königliche Museen, Berlin, Milet Vol. III, No. 1: Der Latmos*, publ. by Theodor Weigand, Berlin 1913, 93.

²²⁵ Cf. Note 224 and Swoboda 126.

²²⁶ The paintings were thought to have been vir-

tually destroyed until the author rediscovered the Pantocrator Cave in 1957 with Christa Ihm-Belting. Further visits took place in 1959, 1963 and 1964.

²²⁷ O. Wulff in: *Der Latmos*, Berlin 1913, 191—202; also Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*. *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie* 4, Wiesbaden 1960, Nos. 64, 190; also M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit*, *Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie* No. 47, Athens 1964, 119—126.

²²⁸ Coloured Illust. 234 in A. Grabar, *Le premier art chrétien*, Paris 1966.

²²⁹ Wrongly regarded by Wulff, *op. cit.* 196, as a Mandylyon. This has been corrected by Christa Ihm-Belting, *loc. cit.*

²³⁰ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 600, fol. 1v, (coloured) Illust. VIII, p. 63, in Maria Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei*, Recklinghausen 1964.

²³¹ The date suggested by A. Xyngopoulos, *Archeiologikon Deltion* 12 (1929), 142 ff., was accepted by C. Diehl, O. Wulff, S. Der Nersessian and A. Grabar. A date in the first half of the 6th century was supported by E. Weigand (B. Z. 33 [1933], 211 ff.), Peirce and Tyler (*L'art byzantin II*, Paris 1934, 91 f.) and Lazarev (49 and 283 f.). C. R. Morey (*Byzantion* 7 [1932], 339 ff.) actually wanted to go as far as the 7th century. Cf. the survey in E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm*, *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, Munich 1958, 23 f., especially Note 89.

²³² I feel that my earlier dating of the Pantocrator Cave to the 7th century, shortly before the second group of votive mosaics in the Hagios Demetrios in Salonika (*Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit*, Athens 1964, 125 f.), is no longer adequately substantiated. As Kitzinger has emphasised (*op. cit.*, especially 22 and 24), the Demetrios mosaics represent an entirely different pictorial type and tradition, so they cannot, strictly speaking, be compared in this connection.

²³³ They are, however, regarded at present as Coptic manifestations of Byzantine art. Cf. K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst. Die Spätantike in Ägypten*, Recklinghausen 1963, 178, 180 and 182.

- ²³⁴ C. Ihm, Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts, Wiesbaden 1960, 199. Cf. also M. Krause — K. Wessel, Bawit, Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst I, Stuttgart 1966, 580 f.
- ²³⁵ G. and M. Sotiriou, Εἰκόνας τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ, Athens 1956, No. 8, 23—25.
- ²³⁶ Cf. M. Restle, Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit, Athens 1964, 131 f., with Literature.
- ²³⁷ Suzy Dufrenne, L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge I, Paris 1966, gives all the pictures.
- ²³⁸ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 18723, fol. 16v: Catalogue of the 10th Exhibition of the Council of Europe. Karl der Grosse, Werk und Wirkung, Aachen 1965, No. 422 and Illust. 61; W. Köhler, Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars. Die Karolingischen Miniaturen 3, Berlin 1960, 85 ff.
- ²³⁹ Princeton University Library, Garrett 6, formerly Andreaskiti 5; cf. Athens Catalogue, No. 304; Weitzmann 56 f. and Illusts. 374—378.
- ²⁴⁰ Antonije Nikolovski, Les fresques de Kurbinovo, Belgrade 1961 (L'ancien art yougoslave).
- ²⁴¹ S. Pelekanides, Kastoria, Salonika 1953, Pl. 1—86. The early dating of these paintings by Pelekanides to the 11th century is no longer valid to-day. Cf., for example, O. Demus, Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei. Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, IV, 2, Munich 1958, 24—26, and further examples.
- ²⁴² A. Grabar, La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie, Paris 1928, 55—86, pl. 1 and 3—5.
- ²⁴³ British Museum, Cod. Harley 1810 and Codex Burney 19. With reference to the latter, see Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 314 with Illust.
- ²⁴⁴ *Olīm* Dionysiu 8; F. Dölger, Mönchsländ Athos, Munich 1943, 196—197, Illust. 116; in Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 313 with Illust. wrongly (?) marked as being "unpublished".
- ²⁴⁵ Georgian National Museum, Tiflis, A. 1392, Illust. in Lazarev, Pl. 208.
- ²⁴⁶ O. Demus, The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, London 1949, 427. There (pp. 419—435) we find the best description so far of this Late Comnene style with all the necessary points to notice. I would point out here that O. Demus was also the first person to classify and date the paintings in the Çanklı, Elmalı and Karanlık Kilise correctly, 18 years ago. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 427, as an addition to our Notes 165 and 166 above.
- ²⁴⁷ Parisinus Coislin 200, Illust. in Lazarev, No. 246.
- ²⁴⁸ D. Koco — P. Miljković-Peppek, Manastir. Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Skopje, Etudes spéciales, Livre 8. Skopje 1958.
- ²⁴⁹ F. Mesesnel, Cerква Sv. Nikole u Markovoj Varoši Kod Prilepa, Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva (Skopje) 19 (1938), 37 ff.
- ²⁵⁰ O. Demus, Studien zur byzantinischen Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft 9 (1960), 77—89, esp. 85 f.; Swoboda 155 f.

NICAEA AND TREBIZOND (pp. 85—90)

- ²⁵¹ Nikephoros Blemmydes is supposed to have been commissioned by the court to acquire old manuscripts in the Balkans that could be used as models for new copies. Cf. Lazarev 168 and O. Demus, Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei, Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, IV, 2, Munich 1958, 53.
- ²⁵² N. Brunoff — M. Alpatoff, Eine Reise nach Konstantinopel, Nicäa und Trapezunt, 2. Forschungen im Gebiet der byzantinischen Plastik und Malerei, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft 49 (1928), 68, and M. Alpatoff, Les fresques de Sainte-Sophie de Nicée, Echos d'Orient 25 (1926), 42—45. Cf. also A. M. Schneider, Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea, Istanbuler Forschungen 16, Berlin 1943, 15.
- ²⁵³ N. Brunoff — M. Alpatoff, *loc. cit.*: "Soweit noch der schwarze Russ... zu erkennen erlaubt, sind die Malereien ganz linear wie im 12. Jahrhundert ausgeführt: die Dynamik der Linien des Gewandes eines der Propheten (der Süd-Westseite) und das Fehlen an Lichtflecken des grossäugigen jungen Heiligen (der Ostwand) erinnern am meisten an die kleinasiatischen Malereien des 12. Jahrhunderts." In the other paper in the Echos d'Orient (p. 42) we find: "Les fresques de Sainte-Sophie décèlent l'influence orientale (Asie Mineure), comme à l'époque des Comnènes, sur l'art de la cour de Nicée." Farther on we learn that, when referring to the influence of Asia Minor, Alpatoff was thinking mainly of the frescoes in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond.
- ²⁵⁴ H. R. Willoughby, Codex 2400 and its Miniatures, The Art Bulletin 15 (1933), 3 ff.; O. Demus, The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, London 1949, 435 f.; Lazarev 165 f. Willoughby thought they should be attributed to the Blachernae Palace School in Constantinople. Demus first of all suggested Trebizond (The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, *loc. cit.*) and later Nicaea (Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils, 18 f.), in agreement with Sirarpie Der Nersessian (in: H. R. Willoughby, The four Gospels of Karahissar, Chicago 1936, II, XXVII ff.). Cf. also Swoboda 156. In particular the following manuscripts are included in this group: British Museum Add. 11836; Chicago Rockefeller—McCormick 2400; Athens 820; Leningrad 105; Lavra B 26; Kiev, Lavra Museum, NT from Nicomedia; Paris. Coislin 200;

- Paris. suppl. gr. 1335; Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 449; Oxford Bodleiana Roe 6; Vaticanus gr. 1231 and 751; Paris. F. gr. 134; Jerusalem, Hagia Taphu 5 and Oxford Bodleiana Barocci MS. 201.
- ²⁵⁵ G. Sotiriou, Review of Rice—Millet, Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher 13 (1937), 124 to 130, esp. 129.
- ²⁵⁶ Cf. for the time being, till Rice's monograph comes out, Swoboda 144, with Lit., Note 51.
- ²⁵⁷ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien, Giessen 1963, Illusts. 115—142, excellent colour photo of the detail in A. Grabar — T. Velmans, Gli affreschi della chiesa di Sopoćani, L'arte racconta No. 37, Milan and Geneva 1965, Pl. 35. For description and classification see O. Demus, Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei, Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, IV, 2, Munich 1958, *passim*, esp. 28 f. See also Swoboda 139—142.
- ²⁵⁸ Cf. Note 254.
- ²⁵⁹ K. Weitzmann, Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the period of the Latin Conquest, Gazette des Beaux-Arts 25 (1944), 193 ff. Also V. Lazarev's review in Vizantijski Vremennik 2 (1949), 367—373, and 5 (1952), 178 ff. The codices belonging to this group are mainly as follows: Athens 118; Princeton *olim* Andreaskiti 753; Iveron 5; Parisinus gr. 54; Philotheu 5; Vaticanus gr. 1208; Vatopedi 602; Pantocrator 47; Vatopedi 938 and British Museum, London, Cod. Burney 20. The Wolfenbüttel design book and an evangeliar based on it, which was produced in Goslar around 1240, adopted some of the individual figures from manuscripts in this group, especially the first four. According to Weitzmann, Philotheu 5, Vaticanus gr. 1208 and Vatopedi 602 form a kind of preliminary group. On the other hand, Demus (Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei, 19 f.) rightly emphasised the fact that this is not a stylistically uniform group and is well spread out over the century. This can be clearly seen from the Burney Codex 20 of 1285, which has been assigned by Lazarev to this group. Demus suggested the following grouping: the oldest manuscript was probably the Princeton *olim* Andreaskiti 753,

from the second quarter of the 13th century. Iveron 5 and Parisinus gr. 54 came in the sixties and Weitzmann's "preliminary group" did not come any earlier than the manuscripts just mentioned; the middle codices appeared roughly between 1250 and 1270. For description see O. Demus, The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, London 1949, 435; also Swoboda 132—143, who has studied the stylistic connection between these manuscripts and Serbian wall paintings.

- ²⁶⁰ A. Grabar, La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie, Paris 1928, 117 ff.; ditto, Bojana, Sofia 1924; Philipp Schweinfurth, Die Fresken von Bojana. Ein Meisterwerk der Monumentalkunst des 13. Jahrhunderts, Mainz 1965.
- ²⁶¹ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien, Giessen 1963, Illusts. 82—98; O. Demus, Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei 27 (with Lit.).
- ²⁶² Coloured detail in A. Grabar — T. Velmans, Gli affreschi della chiesa di Sopoćani, L'arte racconta No. 37, Illust. 19.
- ²⁶³ Influenced by the criticism of Sotiriou, who tried to place the St. Sabas paintings between the 12th and the 14th century, D. T. Rice withdrew his original dating (cf. Rice—Millet) to the 15th century and suggested instead the second half of the 13th century.
- ²⁶⁴ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien, Giessen 1963, Illust. 259; coloured detail in D. T. Rice, Mittelalterliche Fresken aus Serbien und Makedonien. Unesco Taschenbücher der Kunst, Munich 1963, Illust. 22.
- ²⁶⁵ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien, Giessen 1963, Illusts. 109—113; O. Demus, Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei 28, with Literature.
- ²⁶⁶ A survey is attempted by Swoboda, 164—167 and 169 f., but this is, of necessity, incomplete.
- ²⁶⁷ G. Millet, Monuments byzantins de Mistra, Paris 1910; M. and G. Sotiriou, Mistra. Une ville byzantine morte, 2nd ed., Athens 1956, 57—63.
- ²⁶⁸ Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 210, with Illustration.
- ²⁶⁹ Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 155, with Illustration.
- ²⁷⁰ Athens Catalogue 1964, No. 231, with Illustration.

BYZANTINE WALL PAINTING TECHNIQUES (pp. 197—234)

- ²⁷¹ Cf. B. Bischoff, Die Überlieferung des Theophilus-Rugerus nach den ältesten Handschriften, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3. Folge 3/4 (1952/53), 145—149.
- ²⁷² The so-called "Slavische Institut" of Munich, with "Bishop" E. Rothemann behind it, and not to be confused with the "Slavistische Institut" of the University, is organising a new edition or new version of the Schäfer edition of 1855, also being distributed, unfortunately, by the Wissen-

schaftliche Buchgesellschaft of Darmstadt. Amendments to the passages mistranslated by the "Catholic Schäfer" are promised in the Introduction. The result of all this can be seen, for example, in the list of Saints for the month of July on p. 173, where under 2nd July, instead of the correct Saint — Quintus — we actually read: "Der heilige Coitus, jung."

- ²⁷³ V. Grecu, Contribuții la studiul izvoarelor manualului de pictura bizantină (Study of the

sources of the Byzantine handbook of painting),
inchinare lui N. Jorga cu privilegiul împlinirii
virstei de 60 ani (publication marking the 60th
birthday of N. Jorga), Cluj 1931, 192—195;
ditto, Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenma-
lerei, Byzantion 9 (1914), 675—701; ditto, Neue
Handschriften der Ἐργασία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχ-
νης, Εἰς Μνήμην Σ. Δάμπρου 305—309.

²⁷⁴ Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Lite-
ratur, 2nd edition, Munich 1897, 1117. He
included in this a printing error from the 2nd
Athens edition of 1885, p. 3, where, according
to Simonides, it should have been 1458.

²⁷⁵ H. Brodhaus, Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern,
2nd edition, Leipzig 1924, 161.

²⁷⁶ See also V. Grecu in Byzantion 9 (1914), 682,
Note 3.

²⁷⁷ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, p. 10 of the Introduc-
tion.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 31 of the Introduction. Further manu-
scripts of painting manuals: Bucharest Cod. gr.
339 and 446 (the latter from the year 1775),
Sinait. 1792 from the Metochion in Cairo;
another was seen by L. Schorn, Nachricht über
ein neugriechisches Malerbuch, Kunstblatt 13
(1832), 1—19. A survey of the relevant manu-
scripts that has not, as yet, been added to was
given by V. Grecu in Byzantinische Handbücher
der Kirchenmalerei, Byzantion 9 (1914), 675—
701.

²⁷⁹ M. Doerner, Malmaterial und seine Verwendung
im Bilde, 5th edition, Stuttgart 1936 (several
new editions have since come out), 219—222.

²⁸⁰ E. Berger, 71: "...die Technik als solche mag
deshalb direkt auf die Kunstübung der byzan-

tinischen Kaiserzeit zurückzuführen sein." Also
A. Eibner, esp. 343—355. This opinion has been
reinforced, even in very recent times, by indi-
vidual analyses of samples from the Church of
St. John in Ephesus. Cf. Forschungen in Ephesos
IV. 3, Die Johanneskirche, Vienna 1951, 238—
243 and 248.

²⁸¹ A. Eibner, Entwicklung und Werkstoffe der
Wandmalerei vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit,
Munich 1926, 340 and 342.

²⁸² *ibid.*, 343.

²⁸³ *ibid.*, 354.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Zdravko Blažić, Tehnika i konservacija naše
freske, Kulturno-istorisko nasledstvo vo NR Ma-
kedonija IV, Skopje 1958, 82 and 84.

²⁸⁵ Zdravko Blažić, *op. cit.*, 11.

²⁸⁶ Cf., for example, F. Müller-Skjold, Eine Reihen-
untersuchung an antiken italienischen Marmor-
sandstücken, Archäologischer Anzeiger des Deut-
schen Archäologischen Instituts 65/66, 131—140,
or ditto, Über antike Wandputze, Angewandte
Chemie 53. 139 (1940), 139—141.

²⁸⁷ F. Müller-Skjold, Technik griechischer Wand-
malereien aus Babylon, Maltechnik 1961, No. 2,
33—36.

²⁸⁸ A. Eibner, Entwicklung und Werkstoffe der
Wandmalereien vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit,
Munich 1926, 39—45.

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 348.

²⁹⁰ Eibner, *op. cit. passim*, especially 227 f.

²⁹¹ The final results of the qualitative and, in parti-
cular, the quantitative analyses carried out on
Byzantine wall paintings in Asia Minor by Dr.
F. Müller-Skjold are to be published in a sepa-
rate paper.

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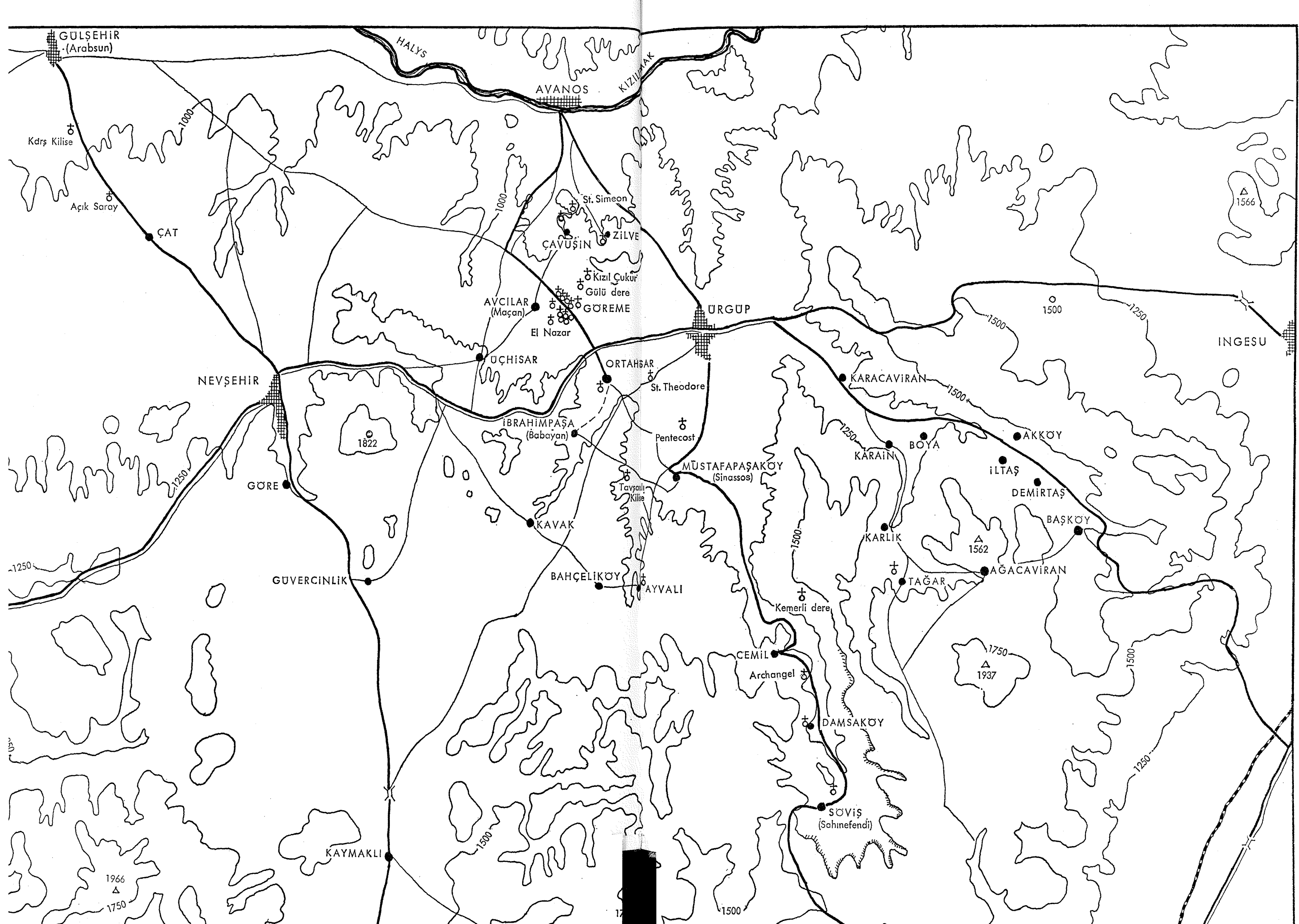
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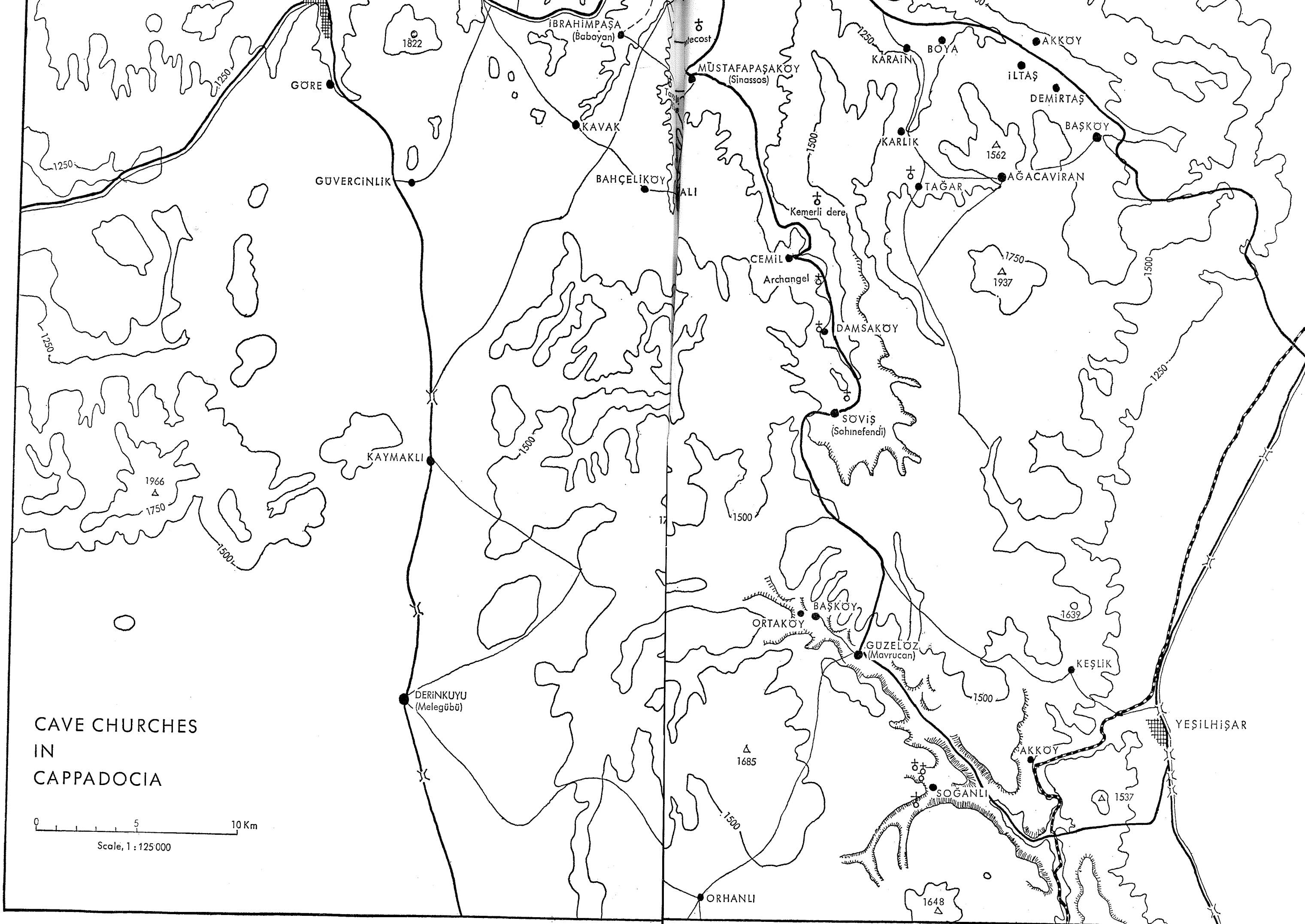
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